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CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE
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AUGUST

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Heroic Deeds—World Applause

War's Cost in Lives

And Treasure to Date

Russia Revives League of Peace

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H. G. Wells

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Maj. Gen. Omar Bundy



Maj. Gen. R. L. Bullard

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Maj. Gen. J. G. Harbord



Maj. Gen. J. T. Dickman

CURRENT HISTORY

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THE MOUNT VERNON ADDRESS

A Statement of Our War Aims and a Message
From America to the Nations of the World

By PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

[DELIVERED AT THE GRAVE OF WASHINGTON, JULY 4, 1918.]

I AM happy to draw apart with you to this quiet place of old counsel in order to speak a little of the meaning of this day of our nation's independence. The place seems very still and remote. It is as serene and untouched by the hurry of the world as it was in those great days long ago when General Washington was here and held leisurely conference with the men who were to be associated with him in the creation of a nation. From these gentle slopes they looked out upon the world and saw it whole, saw it with the light of the future upon it, saw it with modern eyes that turned away from a past which men of liberated spirits could no longer endure. It is for that reason that we cannot feel, even here, in the immediate presence of this sacred tomb, that this is a place of death. It was a place of achievement. A great promise that was meant for all mankind was here given plan and reality. The associations by which we are here surrounded are the inspiring associations of that noble death which is only a glorious consummation. From this green hillside we also ought to be able to see with comprehending eyes the world that lies around us and conceive anew the purpose that must set men free.

It is significant—significant of their own character and purpose and of the influences they were setting afoot—that Washington and his associates, like the Barons at Runnymede, spoke and acted, not for a class, but for a people. It has been left for us to see to it that it shall be understood that they spoke and acted, not for a single people only, but for all mankind. They were thinking not of themselves and of the material interests which centred in the little groups of landholders and merchants and men of affairs with whom they were accustomed to act, in Virginia and the colonies to the north and south of her, but of a people which wished to be done with classes and special interests and the authority of men whom they had not themselves chosen to rule over them. They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar privilege. They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free and America a place to which men out of every nation might resort who wished to share with them the rights and privileges of free men. And we take our cue from them—do we not? We intend what they intended. We here in America believe our participation in this present war

to be only the fruitage of what they planted. Our case differs from theirs only in this, that it is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of every nation who shall make not only the liberties of America secure but the liberties of every other people as well. We are happy in the thought that we are permitted to do what they would have done had they been in our place. There must now be settled, once for all, what was settled for America in the great age upon whose inspiration we draw today. This is surely a fitting place from which calmly to look out upon our task, that we may fortify our spirits for its accomplishment. And this is the appropriate place from which to avow, alike to the friends who look on and to the friends with whom we have the happiness to be associated in action, the faith and purpose with which we act.

This, then, is our conception of the great struggle in which we are engaged. The plot is written plain upon every scene and every act of the supreme tragedy. On the one hand stand the peoples of the world—not only the peoples actually engaged, but many others, also, who suffer under mastery but cannot act; peoples of many races and in every part of the world—the people of stricken Russia still, among the rest, though they are for the moment unorganized and helpless. Opposed to them, masters of many armies, stand an isolated, friendless group of Governments, who speak no common purpose, but only selfish ambitions of their own, by which none can profit but themselves, and whose peoples are fuel in their hands; Governments which fear their people, and yet are for the time being sovereign lords, making every choice for them and disposing of their lives and fortunes as they will, as well as of the lives and fortunes of every people who fall under their power—Governments clothed with the strange trappings and the primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own. The Past and the Present are in deadly grapple, and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them.

There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No halfway decision would be tolerable. No halfway decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:

I. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

II. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other

nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

III. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern States in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

IV. The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

These great ends cannot be achieved by debating and seeking to reconcile and accommodate what statesmen may wish with their projects for balances of power and of national opportunity. They can be realized only by the determination of what the thinking peoples of the world desire, with their longing hope for justice and for social freedom and opportunity.

I can fancy that the air of this place carries the accents of such principles with a peculiar kindness. Here were started forces which the great nation against which they were primarily directed at first regarded as a revolt against its rightful authority, but which it has long since seen to have been a step in the liberation of its own people as well as of the people of the United States; and I stand here now to speak—speak proudly and with confident hope—of the spread of this revolt, this liberation, to the great stage of the world itself! The blinded rulers of Prussia have roused forces they know little of—forces which, once roused, can never be crushed to earth again; for they have at their heart an inspiration and a purpose which are deathless and of the very stuff of triumph!



Baron Burian Replies

The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Discusses the President's Mount Vernon Address

Baron Burian addressed to the Austrian and Hungarian Premiers July 16, on the eve of the Reichsrat meeting, a statement in answer to President Wilson's Mount Vernon address in these words:

IT is not easy to draw a picture of the present world situation in view of the swiftly moving nature of events. Everything is in full swing, and a repetition of what has so often been said regarding the causes and responsibilities for the past can no longer influence our judgment, because on that subject everybody already has formed his own view.

The consequences of the war already have grown infinitely and have gone far beyond the original causes of the war. The present phase of events and developments, too, throws a glaring light on the conflicting interests of the different belligerent groups which clashed at the beginning of this murderous struggle; but it is not, perhaps, without slight signs of an internal change in the relations of the groups.

In the midst of the terrible struggle, and in every phase of this war of successful defense, the Central Powers have had no other aim in view but to secure the enemy's will to peace.

If we sum up all that has been said on the enemy's side in regard to their war aims, we recognize three groups of aspirations which are being set forth to justify the continuation of bloodshed so that the ideals of mankind may be realized:

The freedom of all nations, which are to form a league of nations and which in future shall settle their differences by arbitration and not by arms, is to reign.

The domination of one nation by another nation is to be excluded.

Various territorial changes are to be carried out at the expense of the Central Powers. These annexationist aims, though variously shaped, are generally known.

The intention, however, also exists, especially in regard to Austria-Hungary, to carry out her internal disintegration for the purpose of the formation of new States. Finally, our opponents demand our atonement because we dared to defend ourselves, and successfully, against their attacks. Our ability to defend ourselves is termed militarism and must, therefore, be destroyed.

Territorial aims are, in fact, the only things now separating the different belligerent groups.

For the great interests of humanity and for the justice, freedom, honor, and peace of the world, as set forth in the laws of modern political conception, regarding which we need not accept any advice, we also are ready to fight.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S POINTS

There is hardly any difference between the general principles enunciated by the statesmen of both belligerents. President Wilson's four new points of July 4 shall not, apart from certain exaggerations, arouse our opposition. On the contrary, we are able to approve them heartily to a great extent.

Nobody would refuse homage to his genius and nobody would refuse his cooperation. This, however, is not the main point, but it is what can also be understood in the interests of mankind. Both groups should certainly honestly attempt to clear this up and settle it by mutual agreement, but not in the same manner as, for instance, our peace treaties in the East were judged.

The fact is that all our opponents were invited to join in those peace negotiations and they could have contributed their share in bringing them to a different issue. But now, when it is too late, their criticism stands on weak grounds, for there is no legal right which would have entitled them to condemn the peace conditions which were acceptable to the contracting parties or which could not be avoided.

From the confident utterances of our opponents it appears they have no fear of being defeated. If they, nevertheless, represent the peace treaties as a warning of our treatment of a defeated enemy, we do not consider the reproach justified. None of the belligerent States need ever come into the position of Russia and Rumania, as we are ever ready to enter into peace negotiations with all our opponents.

If our enemies continuously demand atonement for wrong done and restitution, then this is a claim which we could urge with more justification against them, because we have been attacked and the wrong done to us must be redressed.

"OBSTINACY" OF ALLIES

The enemy's obstinacy regarding his territorial demands concerning Alsace-Lorraine, Trieste, the Trentino, and the German colonies appears to be insurmountable. There lies the limit of our readiness for peace. We are prepared to discuss everything except our own territory.

The enemy not only wants to cut from Austria-Hungary what he would like for himself, but the inner structure, that of the monarchy itself, too, is to be attacked, and the monarchy dissolved, if possible, into component parts.

Now that it is recognized that ordinary war methods have not sufficed to defeat us, interest in our internal affairs suddenly has become supreme. The Entente, however, discovered its sympathy in our internal affairs so late that many an enemy statesman who now prates about the monarchy's national questions as a war aim had probably no idea of their existence at the beginning of the war.

This fact can be recognized from the amateurish and superficial manner in which our opponents discuss an attempt to solve these complicated problems. This method, however, appears to them to be useful. They therefore organized it as they have organized the blockade, and in England they now have a Propaganda Minister.

We wish to place this attack on record without useless indignation or whining.

The choice of this new means of fighting us does not show too great a confidence in the success of the enemy's previous efforts. We are certain it will be unsuccessful.

Our opponents start from a completely mechanical misjudgment of the character of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and prefer in their satisfaction to overlook, in the present difficult international problems, the fact that these States with their various nationalities are no accidental structure, but a product of historical and ethnographical necessities, which carry in themselves the fundamental principle of life and race.

They, therefore, possess, and this applies fully to Austria and Hungary, the necessary elasticity and adaptability to the changing events of the times, the ability to reform themselves according to the necessity of their standard of development and to solve all internal crises without uncalled-for foreign interference.

"THIS SENSELESS WAR"

Our enemies want to paralyze us by an offensive of irritation and to render us helpless. They want to crush our very powerful organism in order to make weak parts one after the other serviceable to their own purposes.

According to their uninvited prescriptions, one-half of Austria-Hungary's population may perish in order to make the other half happy. For that purpose this senseless war must be continued.

As has always been the case for centuries past, the States and races of the monarchy will settle their internal problems in agreement with their ruler. The monarchy resolutely declines foreign interference in any form just as it does not meddle with the affairs of foreigners.

We have never prescribed a program for our enemies as to how they shall deal with their domestic questions, and when we have had occasion frequently to recall that it is not all happiness and harmony with our enemies in their domestic affairs, and that they have their own problems in Ireland, India, &c., we have done so only by way of exhortation to reciprocity, giving the advice, "Sweep before your own door."

Our enemies' inflammatory activity is not content with trying to stir up our races against one another; it does not even scruple, by means of circulating monstrous and base calumnies, to sow distrust between the races of the monarchy and the hereditary dynasty.

This armed defense which has been forced on us should not come, however, to be conceived as conflicting with the necessity for untiring political activity for the purpose of promoting the aims of our self-defense where possible and without detriment to the most energetic conduct of the war. Let us avoid the term "peace offensive," into which reproach frequently is read, in that it means to some extent the employment of dishonest methods in order to supply a substitute for successes in war.

DIPLOMACY IN WAR

It is, however, not very intelligible that in public discussion diplomatic action and warlike action should be regarded frequently as two mutually alien and repugnant factors and influences which follow and qualify each other, but do not overlap and can only be employed alternately. Warfare and diplomacy serve in war to the same end. They cannot exclude each other. In every step it takes diplomatic activity will pay due regard to the conduct of the war. The results of the conduct of the war will have a determining influence on the division of labor. On the other hand, diplomacy has a duty, being continually on the watch and paying heed to the possibilities of effective activity.

Thus and not otherwise should the willingness of the Central Powers for peace be conceived. It will not for the moment hamper the invincible defense, but after victorious battles, just as during pauses in a battle, it will, even without new peace offers, always be intent in recalling that we regard this war as senseless and purposeless bloodshed which might at any moment be ended by the re-emergence of feelings of humanity in our enemies.

In so far as they are not aiming at the acquisition of territory, they are fighting against a windmill. They are

exhausting their strength and ours in order to build on the ruins of civilization a new arrangement of the world, whereas the ideas underlying such an arrangement, which are capable of realization and which also are warmly approved by us, might be realized much more easily and much more completely by the peaceful co-operation of all peoples.

In spite of all, we look ever more hopefully toward the peoples now at war with us to see whether at last they have been delivered from the blindness which, after fearful afflictions in four years of war, is driving the world ever further into that destruction which they can avert if they only will.

AUSTRIA'S ALLIANCE

[The Foreign Minister said that his confidence was based on the war alliances, particularly the old alliance with Germany. He asserted that Austria and Germany would seek means of extending the alliance, so that it would be adequate for all the requirements of new times. He continued]:

In these endeavors the Governments know they are in agreement with the desires of the preponderating mass of their people. The alliance will henceforth, as hitherto, preserve its exclusively defensive character. * * *

Economic, military, and other relations in the future are to be drawn closer. The agreement must comprise a solution, with due regard to the desires of the populations, of the questions connected with the rebirth of Poland.

Henceforth the alliance will not mean a threat or unfriendliness toward any one. Nothing will be included in it calculated to offer a stimulus to the formation of countergroups. Everything which in the future can be realized of the sublime idea of a universal league of nations shall find in our alliance no obstacle, but a favorable nucleus and a prepared group which can easily and naturally unite with every general combination of States resting on concrete principles.

[The German Chancellor's reply to President Wilson's Mount Vernon speech is printed on Page 311.]

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 18, 1918]

SURVEY OF THE MONTH'S EVENTS

THE forty-eighth month of the war will be conspicuous in history for the peace offensive vigorously pursued, as well as for the war offensive desperately launched, both by the Central Powers. The record of the preceding month ended while the Austro-Hungarian drive across the Piave was encountering the determined resistance of the Italians. As then foreshadowed, the drive ended in defeat for the Austro-Hungarians, a defeat bordering on disaster; they were expelled from the western bank of the river and forced back along the entire front from the Alps to the sea, suffering enormous losses in men and material, as well as in prestige; they were expelled from the Piave Delta, which they had held since November, 1917, and the pressure on Venice was entirely relieved. Following closely on the heels of this success, the Italians early in July—in co-operation with the allied troops along the Macedonian front—launched an offensive in Albania, which resulted in further Austrian defeats and greatly improved the situation for the Allies throughout the Balkans.

During the three weeks from June 19, when the preceding record closed, the Allies were the aggressors along the entire western front, with frequent raids, some of major importance, notably the brilliant advance by the Americans northwest of Château-Thierry, which resulted in the capture of Vaux and of Belleau Wood in the face of crack Prussian divisions; also the capture of Hamel by the Australians, with the co-operation of Americans, and an important success by the French in the Rheims sector.

On July 15 a great offensive was launched by the Germans along a sixty-mile front in the Rheims sector, with more than 600,000 troops. This drive lacked the element of surprise and encountered an invincible opposition from the Americans and the French. The Germans crossed the Marne at several points, but in the American sectors they

were driven back the same day, with ghastly losses, and our troops stood like a stone wall, blocking the way to Paris. Defeated here, the Germans tried to encircle Rheims and drive to the south-east toward Châlons, but here also the heroic defense of the French was irresistible.

General Foch, who had patiently bided his time, seized the opportunity to deliver a crushing blow, and by a skillful manoeuvre took the Germans by surprise, winning one of the most brilliant victories of the war. On July 18 he ordered an advance along a twenty-eight-mile front between the Marne, near Château-Thierry, and the Aisne, west of Soissons. It was a complete success. The entire line advanced from four to six miles; thousands of prisoners were taken, besides fifty large guns, and a blow of far-reaching effect upon German morale and prestige was delivered. The Americans held several sectors in this battleline and took more than 5,000 prisoners. The whole was a masterly stroke at the German flank, and many experts believed it endangered the German position along the Aisne and might force a general retreat. It was regarded as the beginning of new aggressive tactics by the Allies and as heralding the determined purpose to hold the initiative until final victory was achieved.

The chief political event of the month was the deposition of Foreign Secretary von Kühlmann because he had publicly acknowledged that a German peace won on the field of battle was impossible. His successor was named by the military party, which again demonstrated its dominance in Germany. A new peace offensive was inaugurated by Chancellor von Hertling, and Foreign Secretary Burian, the only effect of which was to deepen the conviction of the Allies that peace could come only through victory.

The outstanding feature of the month was the amazing number of American troops transported to France: during the four weeks over 300,000 men were sent

overseas, making the total number on July 15 in excess of 1,100,000. The speed with which our soldiers were conveyed in safety across the Atlantic produced a profound impression in Europe and was pronounced an achievement unequaled in history. The accession of these hundreds of thousands of fresh, vigorous, young men heartened the allies everywhere, and was a certain augury of ultimate success.

July 4 was celebrated throughout Great Britain and in all the allied countries—also all over South America—as fervently as in the United States. July 14—Bastille Day in France—was celebrated throughout the United States with equal ardor in notable functions.

The situation in Russia, which is dealt with fully elsewhere, took a more cheering turn for the Allies. The landing of British and American troops in the Murman district, the successes of the Czechoslovaks in Siberia, and a general concentration of the more stable elements for the overthrow of the Bolsheviki gave some hope that Russia might again become an active force on the side of the Allies.

* * *

EXECUTION OF DUVAL

EMILE DUVAL, former manager of the newspaper *Bonnet Rouge* of Paris, was executed by a firing squad July 17 at Vincennes; he was convicted of treason in the trial which followed Bolo Pacha's conviction. It was proved that Duval had received large sums of money from a German banker named Marx. Duval acknowledged this, but asserted that the money was in payment of business transactions prior to the war. It was proved that in 1916 and 1917 Duval had made frequent visits to Switzerland to meet Marx, and that on May 15, 1917, when he returned from a visit to Marx, he had on his person a check for 150,000 francs. Almereyda, who was the editor of Duval's newspaper, was arrested about this time and died in prison under mysterious circumstances.

When Emile Duval was arrested six others were involved. Duval, Marion, Goldsky, and Landau were accused both of treasonable relations and of trading

with the enemy, or of complicity in those crimes. Joucla was accused of treasonable relations with the enemy, and Leymarie and Vercasson of complicity in trading with the enemy. Duval was the chief proprietor of the *Bonnet Rouge*, Marion was the manager of that paper, Goldsky and Landau had been on its staff, but at the time of their arrest were running a weekly called the *Tranchée Républicaine*. Joucla was a reporter on the *Bonnet Rouge*. Leymarie was chief secretary to M. Malvy, Minister of the Interior, and Vercasson was a friend of Duval, who carried some money for him from Switzerland. All six were sentenced to terms of imprisonment and to the payment of heavy fines.

The trial of Louis J. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior, on the charge of treason was begun by the French Senate, sitting as a High Court, July 16, 1918.

* * *

INGENIOUS DEVICES FOR SENDING PROPAGANDA TO THE ENEMY

THE statement is made by James Kerney, Director of the Franco-American Committee of Public Information, that thousands of especially devised rifles for sending propaganda over the enemy lines were in use in the allied armies in July. From these rifles grenades are discharged, by means of which tracts and pamphlets may be scattered along enemy trenches with considerable exactitude at a range of more than 200 yards.

For greater distances small balloons made of cloth are used. Each of these lifts twenty pounds of propaganda literature, and by means of a mechanical device drops a quarter of a pound of these documents at fifteen-minute intervals. The radius of action of the balloons in a twenty-five-mile wind would be Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, and Trieste. They travel at a height of from 6,000 to 8,000 feet.

Paper balloons capable of lifting four pounds are also used by the American Army for the purpose of distributing literature in trenches and enemy billets for distances up to 100 miles from the starting point. These balloons drop a

half pound of material at five-minute intervals. They use a fuse release, consisting of a slow-burning match, which is consumed at the rate of one inch every five minutes. The first release is effected five minutes after starting, to make sure of compensating the balloon for the loss of gas.

The latest devices are planned to employ clockwork for their releasing mechanism. The use of trench mortars, with a cardboard projectile containing literature, is being considered for the future. Airplanes are used occasionally for this purpose, but there are many objections to their employment.

* * *

GENERAL HORVATH AND EAST SIBERIA

THE sensational dispatch from Harbin, announcing that General Horvath, for some time at the head of the Russian railroad which runs south through Manchuria, had declared himself dictator of Eastern Siberia, was immediately followed by a cablegram from Peking, dated July 13, saying that the British, French, and Japanese Ministers to China had sent a strong protest to General Horvath, asking him to withdraw his proclamation of dictatorship, on the ground that it was both unwise and untimely. The proclamation, in the view of the allied Ministers, was calculated to cause a situation which might impede the movement of the Czechoslovaks, which was held to be all-important. General Horvath was asked to reply to this protest.

The situation in East Siberia appears to be that there are several centres of force, all more or less favorable to the Entente cause, but acting independently, and very much at cross-purposes: First, the large army of Czechoslovaks, whose real purpose is to get out of Siberia at the earliest possible moment, in order to sail to France and Italy, and to take their places on the firing line against the Central Empires; next, the comparatively small force under General Semenoff, largely composed of officers of the old Russian Army, and numbering about 3,000 or 4,000; third, Admiral Kolchak, who has only a small force, and, fourth, the would-be dictator, General Horvath, who has asserted over the other

three elements an authority which none of them appears willing to recognize, and which he is, apparently, powerless to put in effect, as he has few or no disciplined troops, though Chinese and Japanese volunteers are said to have joined him. His move tends to the weakening and confusion of the allied cause in Asiatic Russia, hence the protest of the allied Ministers at Peking. On July 16 it was announced that General Horvath would facilitate the movement of the Czechoslovak troops eastward out of Russia.

* * *

ANGLO-AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF KEM

THE new railroad from the ice-free Kola coast to Petrograd touches, at a point half way between Kola and Petrograd, the White Sea port of Kem, which has recently been occupied, according to cabled reports, by a combined force of British and American marines, an occupation which at once drew a vigorous protest from Tchicherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister at Moscow. It would appear that the mixed British and American force came from the great port of Archangelsk, on the White Sea, where are lying immense quantities of war supplies and munitions, ordered, but not paid for, by the Russian Government, and therefore still British or American property. There is another large depot of munitions, in the same legal situation, at the Kola terminus of the new line; and it was to save these valuable munitions of war from falling into the hands of Germany, or of Finnish forces at present controlled by Germany, that the British and American forces acted.

This coast, and indeed the whole White Sea region, was first opened up to navigation by English explorers, who set sail from the Thames during the coronation of the boy King Edward VI., in 1547. Willoughby and other English commanders opened up the route from Archangelsk to Moscow, and over this route there was considerable trade during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Milton brought together the journals of these early voyages and from them compiled a history of Moscovia, one of his least known prose works, which includes a very interesting description of Russia and a narrative of

the coronation of the Czar Theodore, the last sovereign of the ancient House of Rurik, which became extinct at his death. The present British occupation is, therefore, the revival of adventures which belong to the days of Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher.

* * *

THE "MARSEILLAISE"

THERE are curious popular misconceptions regarding the two central features of France's national festival, the "Marseillaise" and the Bastille. The song has been taken as the expression of revolution, and the Socialist Party has sought to appropriate it. But its author, Rouget de Lisle, was, when he wrote it and to the end of his long life, a convinced royalist, true to his oath of loyalty to Louis XVI.; some months after his great hymn was written he was arrested as a counter-revolutionary, and was saved from the guillotine only because Robespierre, the master terrorist, was executed. Rouget de Lisle was so hostile to the radicals that, rather than take part in the wars of revolutionary France, he retired from the army, becoming prominent again only after the July revolution, when King Louis Philippe made him a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and gave him a pension.

Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle was born in 1760 at Lons-le-Saunier, between Châlons and Geneva; as a youth he was noted for his love of verse and music; and, when he entered the army as a Second Lieutenant, in 1784, he continued to write both songs and music. By 1792 he had reached the rank of Captain in the Engineers and was in garrison at Strassburg when France declared war against Austria on April 20, 1792. The news of the declaration of war reached Strassburg on April 25; Dietrich, Mayor of Strassburg, gave a dinner to the officers of the garrison at which he lamented France's lack of a national hymn and urged the young officer, already known for his songs and compositions, to write one. Rouget de Lisle, returning to his quarters, set to work, and finished the great hymn, both words and music, that evening, and on the following day Dietrich sang it for the first time to his

guests of the preceding day. Then called "The War Song of the Army of the Rhine," it was printed in Strassburg; copies found their way to Marseilles, where it was published as the supplement to the Journal of the Southern Departments, sung by Mireur at a banquet to the volunteers, distributed among the volunteers from Marseilles, and enthusiastically sung by them on their way to Paris; hence its present name.

A seventh verse, the "Strophe of the Children," was later added by another hand, but with this exception the "Marseillaise" remains as Rouget de Lisle wrote it. He lived in obscurity until 1836, and published several books, one of them being a set of French songs by various authors, which he set to music. In French art he is celebrated by a statue at his birthplace, by a monument and medallion at Choisy-le-Roi, near Paris, where he died, and by the picture by Pils in the Louvre, where he is represented as singing his great hymn before the Mayor of Strassburg.

* * *

THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE

THE Bastille, which has become the symbol of a tyrant dungeon and of the oppression of the people by autocracy, was never, in fact, either the one or the other. With its eight towers in two parallel rows, linked by curtain walls and surrounding a courtyard, it was at first the military citadel of Paris, the first stone having been laid on April 22, 1370, by Hugues Aubriot, Provost of the Paris merchants. After the battle of St. Quentin, it was strengthened by Henry II. It remained a citadel until Richelieu turned it into a prison, but a prison only for high aristocrats or for distinguished heretics, like the Jansenists. During the eighteenth century it was more regularly used as a prison. There were rooms for only forty-two captives, and these were supplied with many luxuries, so that Necker, as a measure of economy, advised that it should be pulled down, and plans were even drawn for a "Place Louis XVI." to occupy the site after its removal. The destruction of the Bastille was, therefore, a royalist plan.

During the reign of Louis XVI. the

Bastille received only 240 prisoners, an average of sixteen a year. From Jan. 1 to July 14, 1789, only one prisoner was admitted—Reveillon, brought to the Bastille at his own request, after his house had been wrecked by the mob. At the time of its fall the Bastille contained only seven prisoners; four of these were aristocrats convicted of forgery; two were lunatics; the seventh was a high-born degenerate, the Count de Solages, who was kept in luxury by his family.

In July, 1789, the Bastille had a garrison of ninety-five old soldiers and thirty Swiss Guards, who made almost no resistance beyond firing a few volleys from the windows. But so dense was the crowd of sightseers who had gathered to watch the attack on the Bastille that 98 were killed and 60 wounded. In revenge, the mob massacred the garrison, and the former citadel was razed to the ground. Within a few months, had there been no French Revolution, it would have been destroyed by the King's command, mainly to save the cost of maintenance, which, in our money, equaled about \$60,000 a year.

* * *

ALBANIAN AND SLAV

AFTER the first Balkan war of 1912, Austria, in order to shut the Serbians off from the Adriatic, where they had counted on gaining an outlet to the sea, supported the erection of Albania into a separate and independent State, under Prince William of Wied. This exclusion from the sea, which was a definite part of Austria's anti-Serbian policy, greatly hurt the Serbian cause, and led Serbia to seek an outlet toward Saloniki, thus involving the Serbian occupation of Macedonia, where Serbia sought compensation for what she had lost in Albania and the Adriatic. Serbia's occupation of Macedonia was one of the causes which induced Ferdinand of Bulgaria, at the instigation of Austria, to attack Serbia and Greece in the second Balkan war of 1913. But Rumania invaded Northern Bulgaria, and the Turks moved on Adrianople, this added pressure compelling Bulgaria to make peace at Bucharest, on terms very unfavorable to her ambitions, thus laying the foundation for her

adhesion to Austria and Germany in the world war. Rival claims to dominate Albania were, therefore, one of the main-springs of the present war, Austria espousing the cause of Albania merely in order to thwart Serbia.

* * *

A GIANT AIRPLANE

THE Germans have a new giant airplane, one of which was brought down in June near Soissons. It carried nine passengers, including the pilot-officer commanding, two observer officers and machine gunners, two special engineers, a second pilot in charge of the engines, and two other specialist engineers. Its principal characteristics are as follows: Four motor engines, each of 300 horse power; spread of wings, 43 meters, (about 141 feet;) total length, 28 meters, (about 92 feet;) crew, nine men; weight, when empty, 9,200 kilograms, (over nine tons;) weight in flight, when fully loaded, 14,600 kilograms, (14½ tons;) weight of bombs that can be carried, about 2,000 kilograms, (about two tons;) maximum speed, 120 to 130 kilometers (75 to 80 miles) per hour; armament, four machine guns.

* * *

FRENCH AID IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

WHEN the Marquis de la Fayette landed in South Carolina, in April, 1777, he was only 19. He left behind him a young wife, and, equipping a ship of his own, he came with a handful of companions, including Berthier, later famous among Napoleon's Marshals, who, like him, had been inspired by the Declaration of Independence. Though he brought almost no troops, La Fayette contributed the inspiration of his personality, and also considerable sums of money and supplies, with which he paid and equipped the men whom Washington intrusted to his command. The young French volunteer saw his first fighting at the battle of the Brandywine, in September, 1777, where Washington was trying to block Howe's march to Philadelphia. La Fayette received a wound in the leg at the Brandywine. Six weeks later, Burgoyne sur-

rendered with his army of 6,000. The immediate result was a treaty between France and the United States, France undertaking to send a fleet, with an army of 4,000. England declared war against France. But the French forces played an important part only in the last act of the war.

Before Cornwallis went to Virginia, Rochambeau, with 6,000 fresh French troops, had joined Washington on the Hudson. With these and the greater part of his own army, Washington made a rapid and secret movement to the south, against Cornwallis, after arranging that the French fleet should attack Cornwallis from the sea. La Fayette, who was in command of the American forces in Virginia, was reinforced by a body of troops from the French fleet; and the converging American and French forces hemmed Cornwallis in at Yorktown. Cornwallis, who had 8,000 men, was besieged by the French and American forces, which numbered 16,000, for three weeks, when he surrendered on Oct. 19, 1781, thus practically bringing the war to an end, although it was not formally closed until 1783, when the Treaty of Paris was signed.

La Fayette had gone to France. In 1784, at Washington's invitation, he visited the United States, returning again in 1824, when he laid the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument. La Fayette was a Constitutionalist rather than a Radical, and he played a prominent part in the July revolution of 1830, in deciding France to accept the rule of Louis Philippe as a constitutional King.

* * *

THE VICISSITUDES OF LUXEMBURG

A REPORTED movement in Luxembourg against the pro-German Grand Duchess Marie-Adelaide may serve to recall the many tribulations and changes through which that small State of 999 square miles has passed since the days when the Romans organized it as a part of Belgica Prima. It was a constituent of the Frankish Kingdom of Austrasia and the Empire of Charlemagne. In 1060, Conrad, Count of Luxemburg, made it semi-independent, and it re-

mained in the possession of his descendants until 1437, when it passed to the House of Hapsburg. It was seized by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, in 1443, and regained by the Hapsburgs in 1477. Philip II. of Spain, the husband of Queen Mary of England, took possession of Luxemburg in 1555. It passed by treaty to the Emperor Charles VI. in 1713. Then, in 1795, Luxemburg was conquered by the victorious armies of revolutionary France, and remained a part of France until the downfall of Napoleon, when the Congress of Vienna made it a grand duchy, and assigned it to William I., King of the Netherlands, of the ancient House of Orange, which, for a brief period, ruled over England and its American colonies.

In 1830, the movement to detach Belgium from Holland and to make Belgium a separate kingdom sought also to add Luxemburg to Belgium, but in 1831 the great powers, which were in the main supporting Belgium's aspirations for independence, decided that Luxemburg should go to Holland. Holland, however, refused to agree to this arrangement, and Luxemburg was attached to Belgium until 1838, when the great powers overruled the wishes of Holland and attached Luxemburg to that kingdom, a part of which it remained until 1890, when King William III. of Holland died, leaving as his heir the 10-year-old Princess Wilhelmina, who came of age and was crowned Queen of the Netherlands in 1898.

The claim was made that, under the Salic law, the sovereignty of Luxemburg must remain in the male line; therefore in 1890 Luxemburg was separated from Holland and passed to a relative of the late King of Holland, Adolphus, Duke of Nassau. On his death, in 1905, his son William became Grand Duke of Luxemburg, who in turn was succeeded by his daughter Marie-Adelaide on Feb. 26, 1912. The Grand Duchess Marie-Adelaide, the present nominal ruler of Luxemburg, is now 24 and unmarried. Her grand duchy has a population of 250,000, almost all of whom are Catholics, speaking a tongue oddly blended of French and German. The

great treasure of Luxemburg is the rich iron region, an extension of the mines of Lorraine.

* * *

BRITISH WAR PENSIONS

THE British Pension Minister, Mr. Hodge, announced in Parliament June 6, 1918, that up to May 1, 1918, the number of disabled men who had received pensions was 341,025. He had worked out the percentages of different forms of disablement, and these were as follows:

Eyesight cases	2.8 per cent.
Wounds and injuries to legs necessitating amputation....	2.6 per cent.
Wounds and injuries to arms necessitating amputation....	1.4 per cent.
Wounds, &c., to legs not necessitating amputation	11.9 per cent.
Wounds, &c., to arms not necessitating amputation	8.45 per cent.
Wounds, &c., to hands not necessitating amputation	4.45 per cent.
Wounds, &c., to head.....	4.0 per cent.
Hernia .....	.8 per cent.
Miscellaneous wounds and injuries	5.55 per cent.
Chest complaints and tuberculosis	11.60 per cent.
Rheumatism	6.5 per cent.
Heart disease	10.3 per cent.
Epilepsy	1.0 per cent.
Nervous diseases, shell-shock, &c.	6.0 per cent.
Insanity .....	.75 per cent.
Deafness	2.0 per cent.
Frostbite, including cases of amputation of feet or legs..	.9 per cent.
Miscellaneous diseases.....	18.36 per cent.

* * *

IN the six months ended July 1, 1918, the United States produced more than 1,112,897 new shipping tonnage. By the time the shipping objectives are reached in 1920, the nation will have spent \$5,000,000,000 on new bottoms and 1,000,000 men will be at work in the various yards. There are 158 of these yards in operation in the United States now. They are distributed along the ocean coasts and the Great Lakes, and employ about 300,000 men. The Emergency Fleet Corporation has 819 ways in use, and has contracted for about 1,700 ships. Not only has there been a great increase in volume, but records have been broken in the time taken to build many of the ships. Before the United States entered seriously upon its task, a year

was considered necessary to build a 6,000-ton ship. But the Tuckahoe, 5,500 tons, was built in thirty-seven days, and production has been accelerated generally in about the same proportion.

* * *

COLLEGE ALUMNI IN WAR

EDWARD G. RIGGS has made a study of the number of college graduates who had entered the service of the United States up to July 1, 1918. Out of the living alumni, aggregating 396,619, those in service numbered 64,890, or 16.36 per cent. The figures for the larger universities were as follows:

Name of College.	Number of Living Alumni.	No. of Alumni in Service.	Percentage.
Amherst	3,000	675	*
Brown	4,000	700	17.5
City Col. of N. Y..	4,400	200	4.5
Columbia	20,200	4,051	20.1
Cornell	25,000	5,000	20.0
Dartmouth	5,912	789	13.3
Harvard .....	..	5,348	..
Mass. Tech.	12,700	2,110	16.7
Northwest'n Univ.	14,500	1,070	7.4
Ohio State Univ..	12,000	4,000	33.3
Princeton	11,000	3,100	28.2
U. of Alabama....	6,000	600	10.0
U. of California..	12,670	1,794	14.2
U. of Chicago....	1,200	*	..
U. of Georgia....	4,000	1,000	25.0
U. of Minnesota..	13,000	2,500	19.2
U. of Missouri....	7,000	1,150	*
U. of Nebraska...	6,500	1,300	*
U. of N. Carolina.	8,000	800	10.0
U. of Penn.....	2,200	4,000	18.2
U. of the South...	5,274	513	9.7
U. of Tennessee...	4,100	700	17.0
U. of Virginia....	9,000	2,000	22.2
U. of Washington.	3,298	390	11.8
Vanderbilt	8,000	1,075	13.4
Wash. and Lee....	4,500	800	17.7
Williams	3,622	1,013	27.9
Yale	1,900	5,788	27.3

*Includes former students, nongraduates; therefore percentage is omitted.

* * *

THE total tonnage of American vessels lost prior to the entry of the United States into the war was 67,815. The total American tonnage sunk from the entry of the United States into the war up to July 1, 1918, was 284,408—a total of 352,223 tons sunk during the first forty-seven months of the war. Against those lost, the gross tonnage of emergency ships built in the United States since the commencement of the

war was 2,722,563 tons, 1,736,664 tons of which were built since April 6, 1917. In addition to this tonnage, 650,000 tons of German shipping have been taken over, besides tonnage acquired from Dutch, Japanese, and other vessels.

* * *

GENERAL PALLIS, the ex-Greek King's Aide de Camp, was tried June 15 by ordinary court-martial under charges of disloyalty to the present régime and failing to report to the authorities the arrival of spy officers, of which he was aware. General Pallis denied that he had knowledge of the spy officers' mission, but reiterated what he declared at the officers' trial to be his "principles," that is to say, his attachment to Constantine. He was sentenced to four years and one month's imprisonment.

* * *

THE Paris Temps of July 9, 1918, in a summary of the aerial and long-range bombardments carried out by the Germans on Paris and suburbs, says the first successful raid of importance took place on the night of Jan. 30-31 last, when 55 persons were killed and 203 were wounded. Up to June 30, 1918, there were twenty raids by Gothas, and the bombardment by the long-range guns comprised thirty-nine days. In the period from Jan. 1 to June 30 the killed numbered 141 and the wounded 432, according to the official statements. These totals, however, did not include persons who subsequently died from wounds nor the sixty-six persons who were crushed to death in a panic during a raid on March 11.

* * *

EDWIN SAMUEL MONTAGUE, Secretary for India, and Baron Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor General of India, presented a report to Parliament on constitutional reforms in India as the outcome of a six months' visit to India by the Secretary. Its main recommendations as agreed upon by the Viceroy and the Commissioner at Simla on April 22, 1918, are as follows:

Completion of the edifice of local self-government, giving a considerable measure of responsibility in various fields to provincial legislatures, which are to be

composed of directly elected representatives, and which will act under the broadest franchise possible under Indian conditions.

A viceregal legislature, which will be composed of two chambers, the second chamber being called "The Council of State."

The creation of an Indian privy council and a council of Princes, with a provision for the establishment of machinery for the conducting of periodic inquiries to consider whether other subjects may be transferred to popular control.

* * *

THE Municipal Council at Paris has named some of the principal streets in honor of the allied countries. What was formerly the Avenue du Trocadero, one of the finest streets of the city, was changed to Avenue Président Wilson. Hereafter the Quai de la Conference will be known as Cours Albert I., the Avenue d'Antin as Avenue Victor Emmanuel, the Avenue de L'Alma as Avenue George V., part of the Rue Pierre Charron as Rue Peter I., the Quai de Billy as Avenue Tokio, and Avenue Sofia as the Avenue Portugal.

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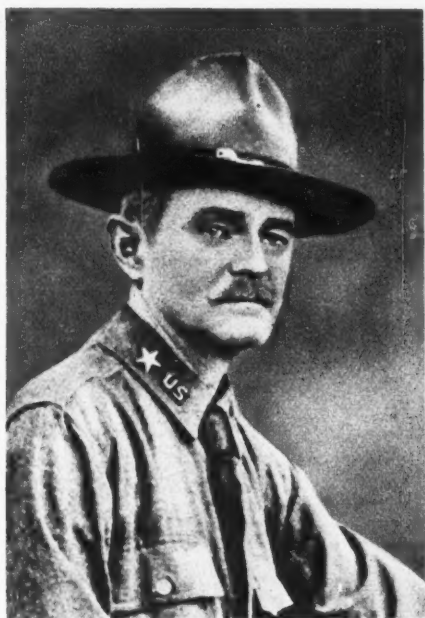
ON June 20, 1918, there were under arms in the American Army 186,000 negroes; there are available for service a total of 900,000 negro soldiers in the United States between 21 and 50 years of age. Among the first 2,500,000 men of all colors between the ages of 21 and 31 examined for the selective draft, 25 out of every 100 whites were passed as physically perfect, 32 out of every 100 negroes. Of the 186,000 negro troops, 650 were commissioned officers, 225 were serving as doctors and dentists. Of the total negroes under arms, 29,000 volunteered, 7,000 joined the National Guard, and 7,000 were in the regular army before the war.

* * *

DURING the period between May 15 and June 1, 1918, seven British hospitals were bombed by the Germans on the north coast of France, with the following casualty results:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	11	18
Other ranks.....	218	534
Sisters	5	11
Queen Mary Army Aid Corps..	8	7
Civilians	6	23
Totals	248	593

LEADING AMERICAN MAJOR GENERALS



Maj. Gen. W. P. Burnham
(*Paul Thompson*)



Maj. Gen. C. T. Martin
(*Press Illus. Service*)



Maj. Gen. E. F. Glenn
(*Inter. Film Service*)

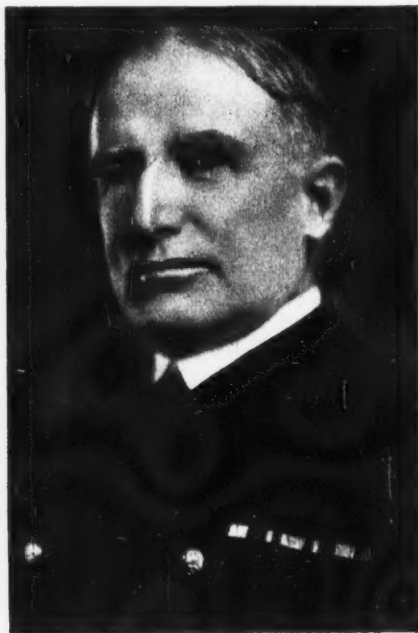


Maj. Gen. G. B. Duncan

AMERICAN NAVAL COMMANDERS



Rear Admiral Hugh Rodman
U. S. battleships in foreign waters



Rear Admiral H. B. Wilson
U. S. warships in French waters



Rear Admiral Albert T. Niblack
in the Mediterranean



Rear Admiral Austin M. Knight
Asiatic Fleet

Allied Successes On Three Fronts

Opening of Ludendorff's "Friedensturm" and the Operations That Made It Necessary

[PERIOD FROM JUNE 18 TO JULY 18, 1918]

WHEN Germany, on July 15, began her fifth and evidently, in her opinion, her most stupendous offensive, she attempted to apply a mighty counterpoise to the scales which for four weeks had been fatefully changing her military equilibrium. The movement was promptly met with counterattacks, which amazingly reduced its momentum, diverted its path, and possibly fatally harmed the morale of its reserve. The aim of the present review is to set down at close range the principal events from July 15 to 17, inclusive, with some attempt to indicate their relative importance.

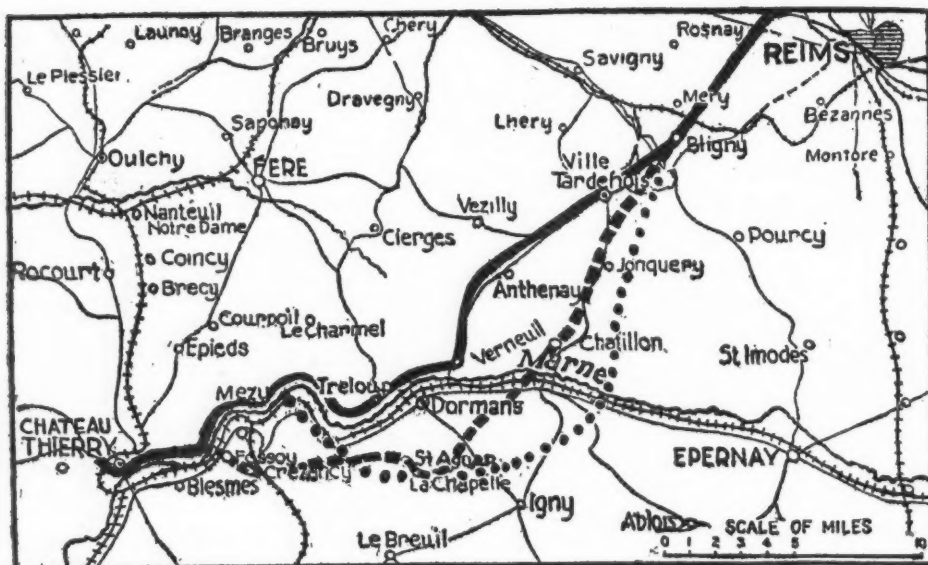
What preceded this fifth offensive is already upon record. In the first place, save for the costly attempt to carry Rheims by a prodigious assault on June 18, the Teutonic armies had been on the defensive on three fronts—in France, Italy, and the Balkans. Not only this, but the Allies had been conducting local offensives, the cumulative results of which may easily be overlooked in the absorption of the greater events that followed. In the four weeks which preceded the drive, the Teutonic powers had lost in these offensives of the Allies, conducted on each front in an entirely different manner in accordance with the local military and, sometimes, the political exigencies of the case, no fewer than forty divisions, or nearly half a million men, of whom 47,000 had been taken prisoner; in France they had suffered upward of 210,000 casualties, including 25,000 prisoners; in Italy, upward of 250,000, including 20,000 prisoners; in Albania, 14,000, including 2,000 prisoners.

Against this it is believed that the casualties of the Allies hardly passed the 150,000 mark for the same period. It had been a tremendous drain upon the Teutonic man power. But that was

not all. In France the British, French, Italian, and American troops, by their periodic assaults, both on the ground and from the air, on the Lys, the Somme, on the flanks of Montdidier and Soissons, on the Château-Thierry sector, and southwest of Rheims, had captured many important strategic positions, had broken up the enemy's moving detachments, ruptured his lines of communication, and injured both the material and the moral strength at his bases. In Italy the Austrian offensive had become abortive, with the loss of military approaches in the mountains and territory on the Piave Delta. In Albania the Italo-French forces had taken some 500 square miles of territory from the Austrians, threatening all Southern Albania, and with the corollary of an advance north by the Allies in Macedonia should the drive west proceed far enough.

LUDENDORFF STRIKES

It was a situation which demanded instant action on the part of Ludendorff. And on July 15 he took it—just where Foch expected he would take it—fascinated by the lure of Rheims and Paris and yearning to smash the Americans. On a sixty-mile line he took it—from Château-Thierry on the Marne, up the river beyond Dormans, then northeast across the Vesle and around Rheims, and then due east to a few miles west of the Argonne Forest. For this he had available seventy divisions, forty-two of which were employed up to July 18. Up to that date the official estimate of his casualties was 100,000. His attempt to isolate Rheims then consisted in a penetration of one mile on a three-mile base southeast of the city; on the west from the base line, Jaulgonne-Vrigny—thirty miles—he had made a penetration of five, up the



THE MARNE FRONT: SOLID LINE, ORIGINAL FRONT; BROKEN LINE, JULY 15; DOTTED LINE, JULY 17

Marne and toward the Montagne Forest, thus shortening the breadth of the Rheims salient to thirteen miles—from Pourcy on the west to Beaumont on the east—on a horizontal seven miles south of the city. West of this sector, as far as Château-Thierry, the Americans had thrown his troops back across the Marne. These results were brought about in the following manner:

On the 15th, at 6 A. M., the Germans, on the east of the line, attacked the Americans northwest of Château-Thierry, at Vaux, and southeast on the Marne between Fossoy and Mezy. At Vaux it was probably a feint attack—delivered too soon. On the Marne 25,000 crossed, the Americans retiring on Condé-en-Brie. Then the Americans counterattacked and drove 15,000 back to the north bank. The rest remained as casualties—1,500 of them prisoners. Meanwhile, to the east the Germans gained and held the south bank before Dormans and penetrated the Italian lines at Bligny, southwest of Rheims, and the French lines at Prunay. East of Prunay terrific assaults were delivered; there the French lines under Gouraud held, and demolished wave after wave of assailants.

Before night closed Foch said: "I am satisfied—Je suis content."

On the 16th the Germans renewed the fruitless attack against the Americans on the left and attempted two new crossings by bridges—at Gland, just east of Château-Thierry, and at Mareuil-le-Port, near Dormans—each with appalling losses. On the south bank further to the east the Americans recaptured St. Agnan and La Chapelle-Monthodon. On the southwestern approach to Rheims the enemy widened the penetration made the day before at Bligny, in the vicinity of Marfaux and Cuchery. Southeast of the Cathedral City the pocket at Prunay was made deeper.

During the 17th the enemy attempted to reach Festigny on both banks of the river, but was thrown back; on the line southeast of Rheims he managed to reach the outskirts of the Montagne Forest, thus bringing Prunay, on the other side of the allied approach to the city, to within ten or a dozen miles—a narrow defense for an important allied position. Elsewhere the enemy was held or counterattacked back. On July 18 the French and Americans launched a counteroffensive from Château-Thierry along a twenty-five mile front between the

Marne and the Aisne; it was irresistible; within twelve hours the entire line was advanced from three to six miles, and thousands of prisoners and many guns captured; the Germans everywhere were retreating, and the Allies, flushed with success, were vigorously driving forward.

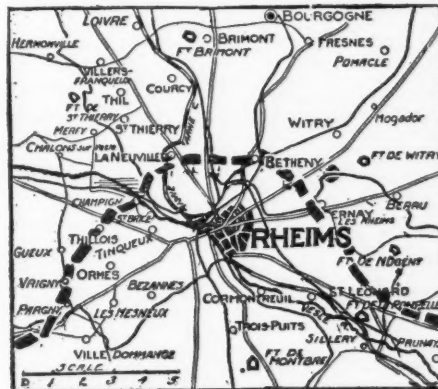
PRECEDING OPERATIONS

The operations of the month which preceded the first three days of this, the German - advertised "Friedensturm"—tempest for peace—will now receive attention.

The enemy's operations in an attempt to extend the front of the Marne salient, obtained in the last week in May, had caused the front on the left to assume the character of a semicircle partially enveloping Rheims, having radii averaging three and a half miles. It was similar to that which enveloped Ypres from January, 1915, to April, 1917, but with this difference: The Ypres sector was defended entirely by intrenched positions which, with the town itself, were constantly under fire from the enemy on the ridges on the right-rear; but the half circle of Rheims was made a circle by the French positions on the heights of the Vesle, Forts de la Pompelle and de Montbre, and the triangle of Tinqueux, Ormes, and Bezannes, whose artillery commanded the entire semicircle north of the Cathedral City.

It was to gain possession of this circle, with a circumference of thirty miles, and establish themselves on its southern perimeter, that the Germans, on a fourteen-mile front and with from three to five closely packed divisions, started a bombardment at 6 in the evening of June 18, followed up by infantry attacks at 9. Three divisions of the enemy were literally decimated. On the west and north of the city they were torn to pieces by the French counterbarrage; on the east an attempt to rush Fort de la Pompelle was hurled back. What was described in Berlin as a "surprise fire attack" ended in the early morning of June 19 as one of the most crushing repulses ever administered to Germany within similar limits of terrain and time. It demonstrated that the Rheims salient, in the

light of all local conditions, was invulnerable. That being an established fact, it gave Foch the long-desired opportunity to demonstrate in concrete form the unique strategy which was destined to



SEMICIRCLE OF DEATH AT RHEIMS, WHERE 40,000 GERMANS WERE UTTERLY DEFEATED JUNE 18

cause a postponement from day to day, from week to week, of the prepared fifth German offensive on the western front, with acute demoralization in the field, but with definite, although partially covered, political demoralization in the capitals of the German States.

There was a tense waiting period between June 19 and June 26, broken only by an aftermath of the Rheims assault, when, on the night of June 23, the enemy launched an attack southwest of the city, near Bligny. But this sector, held by the newly arrived Italian troops, closed in on the first line of advance, so that few escaped.

INTENSE LOCAL OFFENSIVES

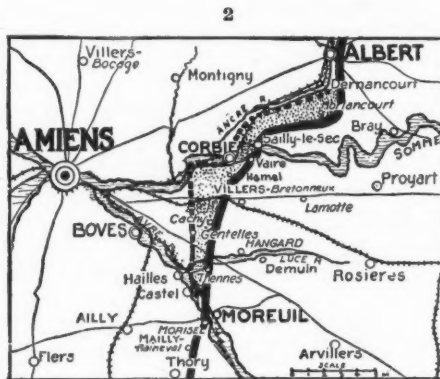
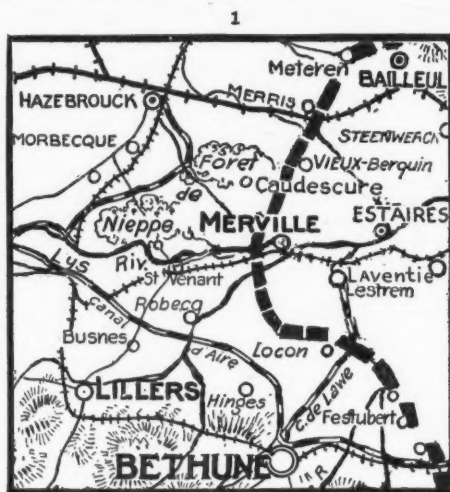
Then, on the 26th, began the series of local shock offenses carried out by the Allies over the entire front, which has rendered the operations of the month so remarkable. On that day the British opened an assault against a strong enemy position on the Lys salient, east of Hazebrouck, taking prisoners and machine guns. On the 28th they surprised the enemy on a four-and-a-half-mile front east of Nieppe Forest, going to a depth of a mile, and taking 300 prisoners, twenty-two machine guns, and occupying the hamlets of L'Eponette, Verte Rue, and La Becque. Simultaneously, the

Australians captured minor positions and took prisoners west of Merris, while the French advanced their lines one and a half miles west of St. Pierre Aigle, taking over 1,000 prisoners. The day closed with heavy enemy gunfire at all points of attack and with a fierce enemy assault on the Ambleny-Cutry sector, southwest of Soissons, which was dispersed by the French. On the following day, while the German bombardment of the foregoing points continued, the French won half a mile and captured 265 prisoners seven miles southeast of the town of Villers-Cotterets, and took 100 prisoners by improving their position near St. Pierre Aigle.

Then came on July 1 the spectacular taking of Vaux and the Bois de la Roche, west of Château-Thierry, by the American troops. This operation, although comparatively limited, revealed consummate command of scientific artillery and infantry work, both separate and in combination, and the result was to improve the French positions near St. Pierre Aigle and Villers-Cotterets Forest. For three days the German gunners fought a duel with the American artillery for Vaux. Meanwhile, the Americans pushed their line east of the town by annihilating a counterattack. On July 3 the French carried German positions on a two-mile front, with a half-mile penetration, between the Oise and the Aisne, seven miles northwest of Soissons. The booty consisted of 457 prisoners and thirty machine guns. Here, later in the day, the French extended their lines and increased their number of prisoners to 1,066.

CAPTURE OF HAMEL

Early on the morning of Independence Day the scene of the offensive shifted in emphasis to the region south of the Somme, where on a four-mile front and a penetration of one and a half miles the Australians took a stretch of German trenches, the village of Hamel, and 1,500 prisoners with astonishingly light losses. On the 8th the front southwest of Soissons, a corollary to the operations northwest on the 3d, became active and the German lines were penetrated for



WHERE MOST GROUND WAS GAINED BY THREE OF THE PRINCIPAL MINOR OFFENSIVES OF THE ALLIES: (1) AGAINST THE LYS SALIENT BY THE BRITISH; (2) BEFORE AMIENS BY THE FRENCH AND BRITISH; (3) NORTHWEST OF CHATEAU-THIERRY BY THE AMERICANS

three-fourths of a mile, leaving in the hands of the French 247 prisoners. Simultaneously, there was demonstrated on the Somme, north of Hamel, the corollary of the 4th—the Australians on the river gained further positions, both north and south of it, and took prisoners.

On the 9th, between Montdidier and the River Oise, the French carried a two-and-a-half-mile front to a depth of more than a mile and held it. Here and in minor raids further south they captured during the day 530 prisoners. In the two days following the French here and the British on the Lys salient developed their fronts, capturing more positions and prisoners.

Again on the 11th the terrain southwest of Soissons became active where the French entered the Forest of Villers-Cotterets and regained the historic château and village of Corcy. On the day following the positions here secured rendered up the important strategic village of Longpont on the Savières River, east of Villers-Cotterets, while eight miles northwest of Montdidier, on a three-mile front, the enemy's positions were smashed to a depth of a mile and a quarter, rendering up the village of Casel, on the Avre, and 500 prisoners. On the 13th further gains by the French in this region enabled them to consolidate a strong line from Casel to the Savières.

Even the fifth German offensive did not apparently interfere with Foch's scheme of minor offensives. For while the Germans on July 15 were trying to cross the Marne we find the British taking 328 prisoners and improving their positions in Ridge Wood, in the Ypres sector, and advancing their line in the Somme sector at Villers-Bretonneux.

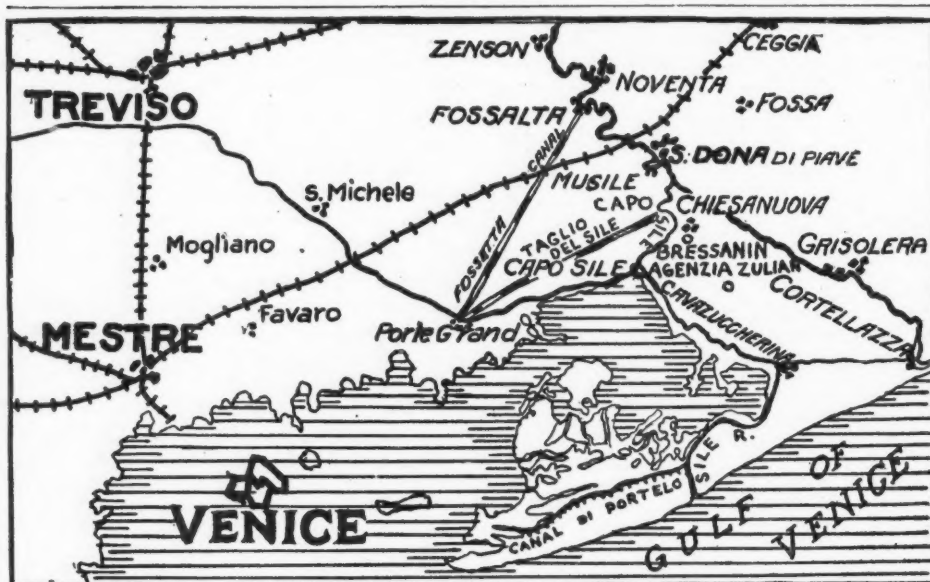
ITALY'S VICTORY

The Austrian offensive begun June 15 had proceeded three days when it became necessary to postpone further consideration of it until this month. The signs then visible—that it was not only a stupendous failure but abortive from the very start—have, meanwhile, been fully realized. Today the Austrians hold some fifty square miles of territory less than they did when they began operations,

having lost several strategic positions in the mountains and been entirely driven from the Piave Delta, where they had been entrenched since last November. The Italian General Staff places enemy casualties at between 270,000 and 300,000, (the Hungarian Premier on June 29 admitted the loss to eighteen Hungarian divisions alone to have been 100,000,) of whom between 50,000 and 60,000 have been killed and 20,000 taken prisoner. The early Austrian claims to having captured 35,000 prisoners have been discounted by Italian official reports and an intelligent analysis of the situation.

"We expect you to put Italy hors de combat," the German Emperor is reported to have said to Emperor Charles after the latter had meekly accepted a reprimand in regard to his "Dear Sixtus" letter. It was an order, a warning, possibly a threat—hardly the expression of trust in an ally.

The circumstances which made imperative a renewal of the Caporetto campaign of last year rather than an attempt to break new ground west of the Lago di Garda were set forth last month. The decision was early known in Italy and adequate steps taken to meet the situation. This situation demanded a counter-attack from the first. General Boroëvic's plan was twofold: Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf, in the north, should reduce the Italian positions on the Asiago Plateau and the Grappa-Tomba sector and then between them press down the Brenta Valley and the Val di Stagna and so break into the plain of Vicenza by way of Bassano. Meanwhile, Boroëvic himself would cross the Piave along a twenty-five-mile line extending down from Il Montello to the vertex of the Delta and develop his position there in the direction of the Fossetta Canal, so as to force the evacuation of Venice by threatening its destruction. Once in possession of Il Montello, a plateau of sixteen square miles with an average altitude of 900 feet, and the railway centres on the plain, Montebelluna, Castelfranco, and Treviso, would be dominated and the retreat of the Italian 3d Army under the Duke of Aosta cut off just as the 2d Army under Capello had been at Caporetto.



THE PIAVE DELTA—SCENE OF ITALY'S GREATEST VICTORY

ALONG THE PIAVE

We already know what first happened to Conrad in the mountains, but the operations on the Piave, between the launching of the attack across the river up to June 19, require further particularization than was possible to give last month, especially as there was then much confusion in designating the old Piave and the present bed of the river, between which the Delta is situated, and the forgotten fact that the Austrians all along had been in possession of part of this terrain on the right bank of the new river. Consequently they did not "cross" this, but the Piave Vecchia, in order to gain possession of Capo Sile, and all operations south of San Dona in which the Piave was mentioned referred to the old stream, cut off two centuries ago in order to reclaim the Delta and regulate the water of the lagoons, and opened again by the Italian engineers last November for the purpose of flooding that territory.

Aside from the capture of Capo Sile, the crossings further up the river gave the Austrians on June 15-16 San Andrea, near the railway bridge on the line Oderzo-Treviso, Candelu on the Oderzo-Treviso highway, and Nervesa on the eastern approaches to Il Montello. The next day they extended their line across

the head of the Delta—the junction of the old and new Piave—as far as Fossalta, three miles from the junction, and threatened the Fossetta Canal at its centre. They made no progress at the San Andrea crossing, but from Nervesa their line ran over the eastern end of Il Montello to Casa Serena. On the following day they almost reached the centre of the Fossetta Canal, but elsewhere on the right bank their penetrations were being countered or firmly held.

A week after the Austrian offensive began, the Italians with the allied British, French, and American aviators, had gained complete dominance of the air. On June 19 the French on the Asiago Plateau successfully stormed and captured the Austrian positions at Bertigo and Pennar, and the Italians took Costalunga in the same sector. Italian pressure was beginning to tell on the Austrian positions on the western bank of the Piave—at Montello, Zenson, from Fossalta to Musile, and thence over the Delta to the sea. On this date, on the Fossalta-Musile sector Czechoslovak detachments were first used on the Italian side, thus giving official and practical expression to the Pact of Rome of April 9-11.

By June 21 torrential rains in the

mountains had so swollen the Piave that the only two bridges which had survived the intensive air and artillery fire of the Italians were swept away, and many positions held by the Austrians within the Delta were submerged, thus opening new channels for the Italian naval floats, each armed with a 6, 9, or 12 inch gun.

On Sunday night, June 22-23, a definite counteroffensive was launched against the now isolated Austrians from Il Montello to the sea, and by the following Monday the Italians had taken between 4,000 and 5,000 prisoners. Without food, almost without ammunition, the Austrians, bombed from the air and furrowed by machine guns and field pieces, gathered in dismal groups on the west bank seeking a ferry—like the souls described by Dante on the banks of the Acheron appealing to Charon for passage.

In the first week of July remnants of the Austrian detachments at Il Montello and Zenson managed to reach the east bank; the rest remained for record on the casualty lists. On July 6 the Italians drove the last of the enemy from the Delta across the new Piave—from the terrain which he had occupied since November. This is how the Austrian General Staff described this important manoeuvre:

As the Delta of the Piave could not have been held without heavy sacrifices, we have withdrawn our troops which were stationed there to the dike positions on the eastern bank of the main branch. This operation was carried out during the night of July 5-6. The enemy felt his way at midday yesterday (July 6) as far as the river.

Meanwhile, the Italians and their allies in the mountain regions had been conducting a series of successful operations against some of the most formidable strategic positions of the enemy. On June 29, on the Asiago Plateau the Italians stormed and took Monte di Valbella with 800 prisoners and an observation peak on Sasso Rosso with thirty-three prisoners. The next day they took Col del Rosso, an important height just southeast of Valbella, with prisoners which brought the total taken in this region since June 15 up to 2,000. On June 30 they occupied after a fierce as-

sault one of the spurs of the Col del Rosso, called Col di Chelo, or Peak of Echele.

Then the Monte Grappa region received attention. Here on July 1 a number of raids at isolated positions netted the Italians 569 prisoners and several machine guns. In this region on the 2d the Italians withstood a heavy Austrian counterattack at the head of San Lorenzo Valley. Here the number of prisoners to date since June 15 reached 621, besides several machine guns and a large quantity of material. Northeast of Monte Grappa on July 4 after an artillery preparation the Italians penetrated the Austrian positions at the head of Calcino Valley and gained the Porte di Salton heights. Intense but unavailing enemy counterattacks followed.

Throughout the month numerous minor operations have characterized both the region of Asiago and that of Grappa with the advantage invariably on the side of the Allies. Such an operation was that on July 14, when the French in the former region, in celebration, probably, of Bastille Day, made a couple of surprise attacks into the enemy's lines at Bertigo and Zocchi and captured prisoners and material.

IN THE BALKANS

The military operations begun by the Italian and French forces in Albania, between the Devoli River and the Adriatic Sea, on July 6, at once invited an interesting line of speculation as to their motive and possible effect. Were they a distraction for the Austrians or the beginning of a serious movement to drive the enemy from the Albanian littoral? Would they end at the Via Egnatia and the Valley of the Skumbi, or, this position being attained, would the long-expected advance of the allied army to the east in Macedonia take place?

After twelve days these questions still remain unanswered. In August, 1916, when Rumania entered the war on Bulgaria's flank, the public looked for an advance of the Macedonian Army, which, under the French General Sarraill, then numbered half a million men. But even if Sarraill did not suspect the be-



ITALO-FRENCH ADVANCE IN ALBANIA. DOTTED LINE SHOWS OLD FRONT; SOLID LINE NEW FRONT, JULY 18, 1918

trayal of Rumania by the pro-Germans in the Government of the Czar of Russia, which had as one of its supplementary intrigues the luring of his army north, he was perfectly well aware of the military situation in his own terrain: His army was exposed in the rear to a possible attack from the army of King Constantine, who might at any time decide to obey his brother-in-law, the German Emperor. Moreover, the Italian Army in Albania, with its base at Avlona, had not yet established communication with Sarraill's left wing before Monastir. So the allied army in Macedonia remained in its trenches and saw the crushing of Rumania without being able to lift a hand.

Since then Greece, under the direction of Venizelos, has thrown in her lot with the Allies, and, in addition to the 70,000 Greek volunteers already there, their front has been strengthened by 150,000 men of the new Greek Army. Strong communications have been established between Avlona and Monastir, and the

Italian force on the left has been increased from 300,000 to half a million.

Thus, when the present drive began there were over 1,000,000 troops of the Allies along the 300-mile front stretching from the Adriatic through Southern Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, across the Vardar, and down to the Aegean Sea, just east of the mouth of the Struma. Facing them, from west to east, were three or four divisions of Austrians, several German artillery batteries, the Bulgarian field army of about 250,000, and some Turkish detachments—in all less than half the total million at the service of the Allies. Besides, both Bulgaria and Turkey were war weary.

On the first day of the drive the Italians advanced their line north beyond the lower and middle Voyusa, British monitors acting as a movable bridgehead, and took 1,000 prisoners. On their right the French began their advance down the Devoli, and further east, before Monastir, the French artillery began a bombardment, under cover of which the Serbians there advanced their positions. This last movement, with others of the same nature which have occurred on the Macedonian front to date, can in no sense, so far, be designated as the military complement of what has been going on in



MAP SHOWING RELATION OF ALBANIA TO OTHER BALKAN STATES

Albania. So far there have been no real signs of a general movement on the Macedonian front.

By July 10 it became obvious that the immediate objective was Berat, with Elbasan, thirty miles to the north, as the remote objective. Elbasan is situated upon the old Roman road known as the Via Egnatia, which runs from Durazzo, on the Adriatic, east via Monastir to Constantinople, and over which the armies of Rome and those of the Crusaders used to pass. North of this road dwell those Albanian communities which, unconquered by the Turks in the old days, have since, under Essad Pasha, defied the Austrians. Only bridle paths lead to their hamlets. By the 10th also the Italians, on the coast, had reached the Levani-Fieri path to Berat, and cleared the Malacastra heights of the enemy southwest of the town. They had also made a measurable advance astride of

the Osum, on which Berat is situated, and had partially cleared the Tomorica Ridge to the east of the town. The French, who were also assisting in clearing the ridge, had descended the Devoli to a point northeast of Berat. It was announced from Vienna on the same day that the Austrians were to be withdrawn to the Skumbi River.

Berat was occupied by the Italians on July 11, and the angle formed by the Tomorica and the Devoli was completely cleared of the enemy save at the vertex. By the 13th this had been achieved by the French, who pushed on down the Devoli toward the Berat-Elbasan highway. On the 15th the French column formed a junction with the Italian right on the heights of Cafa Darza. By the 17th the movement toward Elbasan and the Via Egnatia had become a race between the Italians and French, with the latter five miles from the goal.

Defeating the German Offensive

American Troops, by Holding the Left Flank of the Invaders,
Checked Their Whole Advance

All the special correspondents during the first four days of the German drive—begun July 15, 1918—united in giving the Americans credit for deflecting the main thrust of the Germans toward Paris, which resulted in the failure of the operation. The following was written on the morning of July 17 by Edwin L. James, one of THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondents with the American Army on the Marne:

TO comprehend what the Americans accomplished it should be understood that on Sunday, July 14, we held a line along the Marne from Château-Thierry to just west of Jaulgonne. Since then we have thrown more troops into the battle, so that from a point due south of Jaulgonne to a point just west of Nesle-le-Repons we are fighting with the French. When the Germans launched their drive on Monday morning, July 15, it was with the objective of a line sweeping from Château-Thierry through Courboin, through Montigny, and thence south to Epernay and Châlons, the grand objective. Montigny was to have been reached on the first day through the Americans.

It was after extraordinarily vicious ar-

tillery preparation that the Germans got troops across the Marne at ten points between Château-Thierry and Dormans. Against the Americans who were then holding the south bank of the Marne up through Mezy the crack German [deleted] Guard Division got across about 15,000 men by the use of canvas boats. The greater number crossed at two places near Fossoy and Mezy. Between 3 o'clock and 10 o'clock the Germans advanced against the Americans to a line running through Fossoy and Crezancy. When the Americans counter-attacked about noon the Germans were thrown back, and at midnight no Germans were on this side of the Marne up to Jaulgonne. Reliable reports say that the Americans practically destroyed the guard division that was sent against them. Hundreds were killed while trying to get back across the

Marne. It is estimated that the Americans killed or wounded 7,000 and our prisoners numbered 1,100, most of whom were taken by three companies of our troops—750 men.

Meanwhile the German line to our right had swept down from Courtemont around south of the Bois de Condé and south of St. Agnan around to Comblizy. The French retook St. Agnan and La Chapelle Monday afternoon with our troops in the second line. A counterattack by the Germans, launched at the same time of another smaller French attack, gave him these two places again. This was the situation yesterday afternoon when the French, reinforced by Americans, launched another attack at 1 o'clock.

In addition to going ahead with the French, our troops moved east on the west of the German flank. By 2 o'clock our combined forces had retaken La Chapelle and St. Agnan, as well as the important Hill 241 and Hill 223. The Americans drove the Germans back from the south edge of the Bois de Condé over the hill commanding the woods to the north side. A little later we took Chezy and Montlevon, and then continued our advance. The total gain of terrain was about two kilometers in depth on a front of eight kilometers. But the possession of the hills was more important. A considerable number of prisoners were taken. Those resting in the hands of the American units attacking west of the German flank number 345. The entire counterattack was a success.

The American troops fighting in the attack of Tuesday, the 16th, never before had been in battle. Their splendid performance came after a day and a half of heavy shelling with high explosives and gas, which they stood well. Their spirit was never broken.

A HEROIC COMPANY

The stuff that American soldiers are made of was shown in the case of a company led by Captain Mackey. In the fighting in the Bois de Condé this company of 250 men was surrounded by the enemy and reported captured. Three hours later Captain Mackey showed up with thirty-eight men. They had refused to be captured, although surrounded, and had fought their way back against great odds.

Another story of heroism is that of a platoon of Americans who were in Mezy when the Germans got across the river. When their comrades withdrew they stayed in the cellars in Mezy, where they placed machine guns in such positions that the Germans could not dislodge them. When the Americans got back into Mezy late on Monday night this platoon, without food, but with plenty of "pep," was still on the job. They had played havoc with the ranks of retreating Germans.

The only trouble the commanders had with the American troops was that they did not know when to retreat. One platoon did not

get or did not heed orders to withdraw, and, holding on, became surrounded. Then they cut their way out. Half of them got back.

German failures against the Americans mean that the enemy has been greatly handicapped in his efforts to get to Epernay and Châlons. With the Americans holding as they are, the Germans will have to drive a much sharper and more dangerous salient than if our men had not held so well. Besides, the American successes give the Allies possession of the series of hills south of the Marne and just east of Château-Thierry, possession of which by the Germans would mean a serious menace to the allied line in this section. This same sort of service was performed by the 2d Division in holding Bois de Belleau and Vaux and Bouresches.

The Germans are now getting a taste of their own medicine in the artillery fire from our side. Prisoners say it is exceedingly difficult to maintain communication across the Marne because of the accuracy of our fire on their pontoon bridges. It was believed that the Germans had a mask manoeuvre of forty-four divisions—660,000 men—with which to make the drive, but it now appears that they are using between sixty and seventy divisions. I understand that most of these have been put into the effort of the last two days. Certainly the German effort of yesterday was not so strong as on Monday.

EAST OF RHEIMS

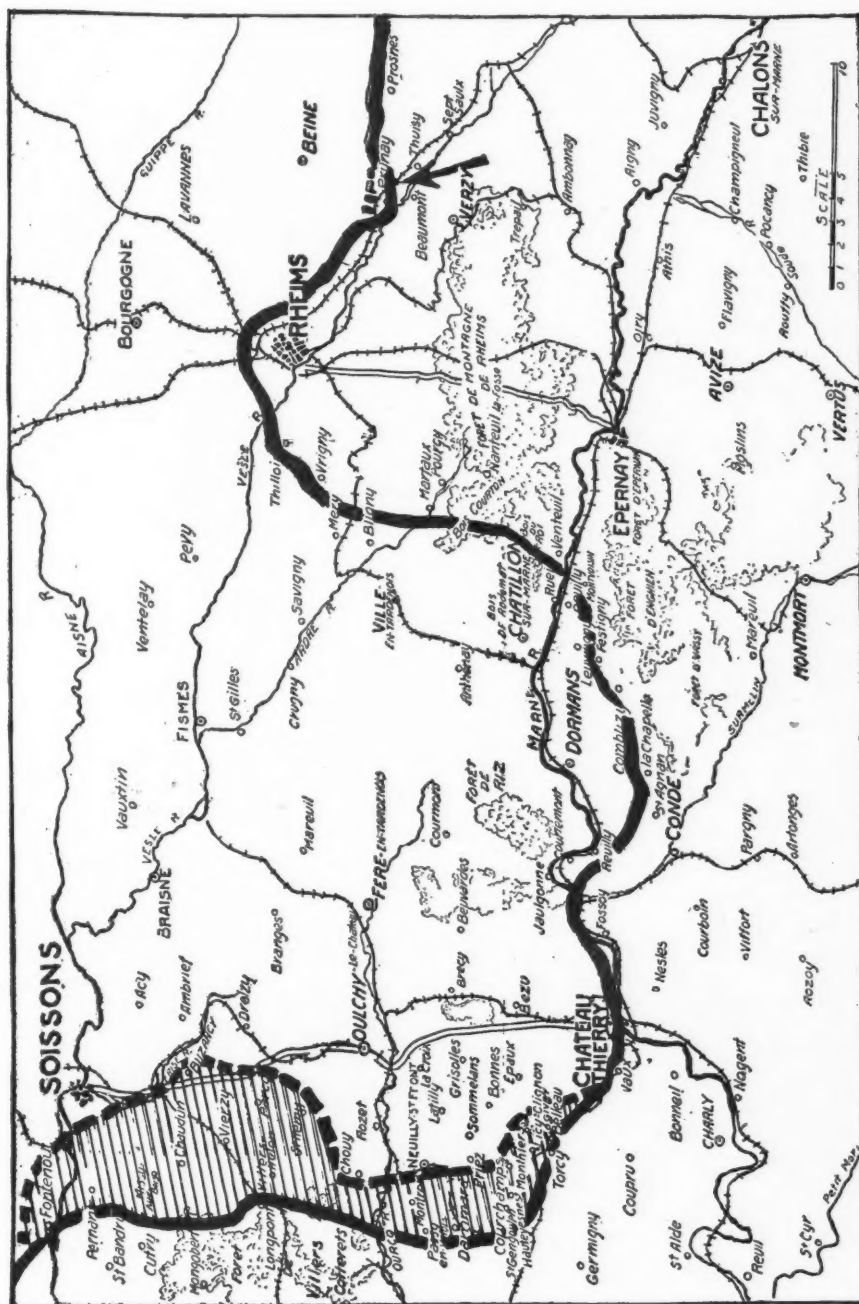
Reports that have just come in show that the Americans fighting east of Rheims held their own yesterday. They retired about two kilometers against the first shock of the drive, but since then they have stood firm. Just after starting the drive the allied artillery raked the German lines and back areas with sweeping barrages. The effect may be calculated by the fact that with the exception of small rushes the Germans have been unable to renew their drive for Châlons from the north. The country there is flat and sandy, almost entirely lacking of woods and valleys to shelter the German concentrations for attack. Prisoners say the allied artillery played havoc with their lines. Our artillery activity there evidently was more than the Germans expected and messed up their plans.

One of the prisoners captured today—he used to live in Philadelphia—said the barrage had caught his regiment when it was about to attack and made chop suey of it. Another youthful prisoner said that the division to which he belonged had been so chewed up by artillery fire that its remnants had been sent back to be used as replacements in other divisions. This was a crack guard division.

At one spot east of Rheims a German detachment with a machine gun had been

pestering our men, and a young Lieutenant with forty men was sent out to stop it. There was nothing to do but rush the posi-

tion. Half an hour later a runner brought back this note: "Attack a success. We killed them all."



SCENE OF THE VICTORIOUS BLOW OF THE ALLIES, JULY 18, 1918, BETWEEN THE AISNE AND THE MARNE

The Enemy Outflanked and Beaten

Beginning of the Allied Offensive

[See map on preceding page]

The French and Americans on the morning of July 18 advanced along a twenty-eight-mile front from the Marne at Belleau Wood to Fontenoy, west of Soissons, on the Aisne. They took the Germans by surprise, and delivered a crushing defeat, changing the whole complexion of affairs in a few hours. Their advance along the entire line was from four to six miles; thousands of prisoners were taken and many large guns. The Germans were badly beaten and at places demoralized. The German losses were harrowing. The effect of the blow endangered all the positions gained by the Germans since March, 1918, and a general retirement was believed to be inevitable. It was the first major initiative of the Allies in a year and proved a brilliant success. The Americans were in the thick of it, and in one sector alone took over 4,000 prisoners. The news was received as this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE was going to press. We print below a brief extract from the description of the battle cabled by Edwin L. James of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

WHEN the German high command started its drive Monday morning, it started more than the Kaiser planned for. The French and Americans were entirely successful in guarding their secret, and the attack at 4:45 o'clock this morning, (July 18,) without one gun of artillery preparation, took the Germans completely by surprise. The Americans and French had an early breakfast and started out. Then with rolling barrages ahead of them they went on.

A big piece of military work, very recent in conception, but of Foch planning, was shown when, at the precise minute, 4:45 o'clock, the French and Americans along nearly thirty miles of front went over the top and against the invaders. As in halting the German drive the Americans were at two vital points of the allied drive—Soissons and Château-Thierry—and elsewhere as well. On what was done to the ends of the line depended the success of the whole movement.

I was present at the fighting this morning in the Château-Thierry region, where our boys had done so much to aid the allied cause already. Just as the whistle was blown for the doughboys to start, our gunners started barrages with their seventy-fives. Our troops swept down the hill north of the Bois de Belleau toward Torcy. Shouting as they went, the American soldiers advanced on Torcy, and at precisely 5:30 the commander reported that they had captured the town. A little to the south other Americans swept around

Belleau and closed up. Belleau was captured at 8:20 o'clock, and by that time German prisoners began coming back.

Captured officers admitted that the coming of the Americans had been a complete surprise. Sweeping north, the Americans charged into the Bois de Givry, and after a short fight with Germans went on down Hill 193 and into the village of Givry. Two hours later these troops had taken the town of Montairs.

In the meanwhile other American detachments with the French had charged the German positions in front of Courchamps and, while held up temporarily, brought up reinforcements, chased the Germans out of the woods, captured eighteen guns and took possession of Courchamps.

I want to quote the report a young Captain made on this fight. It read:

"We met the boche on his line of resistance. A sharp fight took place, after which the boche turned tail and ran like hell up the hill, pursued by our troops."

It was in this fight that a platoon of Americans pursued the fleeing boche clean out of our own sector and had to be brought back by an airplane message.

PUSHING TOWARD SOISSONS

In the meanwhile, on the other end of the sector, in the Soissons region, the Americans, aided by a fleet of tanks, moved east from near Fontenoy, pushing toward Soissons. Our troops fought like demons. Encouraged by the good start the surprise attack had given them, they pitched into the German reinforcements with a will and defied the German artillery hurriedly turned in their direction.

While these two star performances were going on, the French and Americans, advancing, took possession of a number of villages. Reports just in say that there has

been heavy fighting around Soissons and to the south, where Germans have brought up reserves.

Prisoners are being brought back in large numbers. They mostly belong to holding divisions, showing that the Germans were not expecting an attack on this line and had no shock troops ready.

The captures south of Soissons in the way of stores were immense, and included some airplanes which the enemy was unable to remove, so swiftly did the storming troops sweep through. Many prisoners and many guns still remain to be counted.

After passing the third objective set for the operations of the morning, the Americans, in co-operation with the French south of Soissons, launched a second powerful attack at noon. Showing the effect of splendid training, the American troops went forward swiftly and fought with fury. Nothing seemed to stop them, especially in the region of Soissons and to the south of that city.

Light and heavy pieces were moved up as the troops advanced, and, soon after each barrage ended, shells from the American guns were deluging the enemy's rear areas, playing havoc with his forces, whether those in retreat or reserves endeavoring to come up.

TERRIFIC LOSSES INFLICTED

It was open warfare, with all the attending excitement, and through the gaps made by heavy guns and infantry the French cavalry dashed, beating down those in their path. Terrific losses were inflicted at all points on the enemy.

On the line south of Soissons the American troops carried all their objectives in the second attack with the same dash as the first, even proceeding further than had been expected.

The enemy was routed, and for the most part fled before the American advance,

abandoning even light guns and ammunition. Only here and there along the line was strong resistance offered, and at these points the Germans were attacked with rifle and bayonet, before which they retreated steadily.

The tanks did all that was expected of them. The great lumbering engines rolled along in front of the infantry, driving the Germans before them with streams of bullets and clearing away many obstructions that had escaped the artillery.

The enemy early began to bring up strong reinforcements. Fresh troops have appeared at various points, and a heavy counterattack will probably have to be withstood.

Soissons is now well within the range of the American guns. In this region, where the attack was especially successful, the Americans overcame all resistance by storm.

Early in the afternoon they had passed their final known objectives, including the Paris-Soissons road. From the second to the third objectives they swept behind a third barrage. The second objectives were usually taken by the troops of the first units, who had dug in at the first objectives.

The resistance to the south was especially vicious. At some places the American advancing troops were held up, but only temporarily.

The towns of Torcy and Givry and the Givry Wood were taken by the Americans in their advance. The final objectives in the Torcy and Givry sector were reached in about two hours of hard fighting. In one town alone on the southern part of the front under attack the Franco-American forces captured eighteen guns.

As the whole German flank is menaced, the enemy must draw in his troops from the Marne front or risk their being caught where they are. This means that the finishing blow possibly has been administered to the dying offensive.

Cabling American Weather Conditions to the War Front

Officials of the United States Weather Bureau have been assigned to the army and hold officers' rank in keeping with their duties, which are deemed important. Every day the weather conditions in America are cabled fully to these meteorological officers, and by them the data are transmitted to such points as may find it useful. Of course there are other reasons for sending the weather to the army besides the interest of the soldiers in home affairs. The main reason is that marked conditions of the weather in this hemisphere are likely to be reflected in the other, and the reason for that is the trend of the atmosphere toward the east. As the world revolves from west to east the atmosphere in mid-latitudes tends to move constantly toward the rising sun. A great storm in this country may have its counterpart in greater or less degree in Europe some days later. Fair weather on this side may mean fair weather over there within the week. Supplied with this, in addition to local information, the "officers of the weather over there" are aided in forecasting conditions favorable for airplane activity, artillery work, or other military operations.

Austria's Disastrous Offensive

By AUSTIN WEST

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The offensive launched on June 15, 1918, by the Austro-Hungarians against the Italians along a front of ninety-seven miles, from the Asiago Plateau to the sea, proved a disastrous failure. The Italians stated officially that they had taken 18,000 prisoners in their counterattacks, with a vast amount of booty, besides inflicting casualties in killed and wounded to the enormous total of 270,000. In the July CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE Austin West's description of the first four days' fighting was given, and herewith follow his subsequent descriptions:

JUNE 20, 1918, (the sixth day of the battle.)—Austria's best divisions were played out toward the close of the third day of battle, and all the enemy reserves within a few miles of the front lines were under orders to advance, while the same evening entire divisions, stationed at Codroipo, forty-three miles away, had to be hurried up by forced marches.

The good news from the battlefield has wrought a very visible effect in relieving the anxiety and brightening the spirits of the Italian people. The heroic resistance of the whole army is rightly felt to have blotted out the episode of Caporetto, even as the brilliant naval exploits of Commanders Pellegrini and Rizzo have canceled the smarting sense of defeat that has lingered ever since the ill-fated sea fight at Lissa.

It is confidently believed that the worst phase of the Austrian onslaught is now over. Each succeeding dispatch from headquarters tends to show that the Austrian situation is becoming more critical.

Neither at San Dona nor Musile, where the struggle has assumed a tremendous intensity, nor anywhere else along the Piave, has the enemy been able to enlarge his bridgeheads. The deepest point of penetration from the right bank of the river is restricted to two and a half miles.

The enemy advantages, gained in the vicinity of Montello, have not only been arrested, but also reduced, for the Italian line between Giano and Sant Andrea has been pushed forward past Casa Serena, five miles eastward.

On the Alpine tableland Rafea Peak and Costa Lunga Ridge, east of Asiago, have been wrested from Conrad von

Hoetzendorf's grasp. The allied contingents are sweeping the heights to the right and left of Val Bela, so as to consolidate the positions that bar the outlet to the plain across the Frenzela Valley and the Brenta Canal.

Many Austrians have lost their lives in the Piave through the carrying away by the raging current of improvised bridges, boats, and rafts. Large numbers have also been killed either in the act of crossing or soon after reaching the Italian side by the pitiless fire from the interallied aircraft, to which their exposed or cooped-up positions render them frightfully vulnerable.

Two Hungarian battalions landed just as two Italian battalions were ready for a counterattack. A clash of forces ensued, finishing in a series of hand-to-hand duels to the death. Major Gen. Henry Volzano von Kronstatt, commander of a division and member of the Austrian Supreme Command, was killed while reconnoitring near Montello. Prince von Schoenburg, a cavalry General and a member of the imperial house, was mortally wounded by a shell explosion in the same sector.

FLOODS AID ITALIANS

June 21.—Torrential rains have converted the Piave into a vast rushing cataract which is sweeping away everything in its course to the lagoons. British aviators had wrecked all seven of the permanent bridges, hailing down about ten tons of bombs. Those which Field Marshal Boroëvic was constructing for moving across his heavy artillery were destroyed in the flood with the lighter pontoons, so that feeding the famished enemy troops herded on the right bank

is possible only by resort to hydroplanes between Zenson and Musile.

The outlet into the Gulf of Venice at Cortelazzo is obstructed by an enormous accumulation of floating timber, the debris of smashed boats and rafts, carcasses of animals and corpses of men.

Last night the battle was waxing most furiously from Candelu to Capo Sile. With fresh divisions at his command, General Wurm was renewing his assault on the intrenched camp of Treviso and reattempting the passage of the Piave between Ponte di Priula and Candelu. Simultaneously strong masses of infantry were trying to push through on the Treviso road near San Biagio di Callatto and along the Mestre road near Meolo.

"Da qui non si passa!" (they shall not pass) has become the grim battlecry of Italy's brave warriors. The Potenza Brigade with the Bersaglieri Cyclist Corps routed the 26th Austrian Army Corps during its wild dash toward Monastir.

June 23.—Fragmentary details only have reached here at present about the Austrian defeat. Preparations for retreat beyond the Piave were discovered by Italian raiders in the enemy lines in the early hours of Sunday morning. Instantly the Italian artillery began a furious bombardment against the passages across the river.

At dawn General Diaz ordered a series of infantry attacks along the whole line, and they were pressed with irresistible energy. By 11 o'clock Italian regiments had smashed the enemy front at Montello, reoccupied the entire ridge, and driven the now bewildered foe down the slopes.

By the water's edge there and at other spots where the fleeing troops were massed in waiting to get across hastily improvised bridges, allied aviation squadrons, including the pioneer American corps, raked and pelted their dense formations incessantly and mercilessly with a fiery hail, till the passageways were blocked with dead and wounded and the crimson waters of the Piave were covered thickly with wreckage of war, interspersed with thousands of bodies.

After a short but violent bombardment had destroyed the town of Nervesa, it was recaptured during the afternoon in a brilliant bayonet charge. Besides recovering all the guns lost last week, the Italians seized there a large number of Austrian cannon intact with their munition stores.

Great public rejoicings greeted tonight's announcement of the disorderly, disastrous retreat of the Austrian Army across the Piave from the Montello heights to the Venetian Gulf.

ENORMOUS ENEMY LOSSES

June 25.—From the Montello upland to San Dona the whole countryside is one vast cemetery, and in many places thousands of unburied bodies render the air unbreathable. Throughout this district there are no longer any Austrians other than dead, wounded, or prisoners; but from San Dona seaward strenuous fighting, according to the latest reports, is still going on because the width of the river and the insidious nature of the currents thereabout add to the difficulties of the Austrian retreat.

Taking advantage of this situation, Italian cavalry regiments have been brought into play, and in furious charges are punishing the fugitives with their swords. At Campolungo, south of Zenson, their mighty onrush, overwhelming all resistance, brought them to the very pontoons crowded with Austrians about to cross. Italian infantry and cyclist Bersaglieri, following, destroyed the passageway, taking many prisoners.

It is estimated that the Austrian losses now approach a quarter of a million men. The Austrian Isonzo army, which on the eve of the battle was augmented by from three to four army corps—about fifteen divisions—had lost 60,000 combatants by Saturday evening. Its 10th, 12th, and 77th Divisions each counted 5,000 in dead, wounded, and missing. One regiment was reduced to five officers and 362 men. Ten among them, the best fighting regiments, and divisions of Schützen, Honved, and Feldjäger, were cut utterly to pieces at the same time.

Austrian officers themselves reckoned about 40,000 men and horses lost in com-

bat in their 6th Army fronting Montello, while the losses incurred in the subsequent catastrophe of the retreat are not known with any sort of precision. Hundreds of bodies have been carried out to sea. The General commanding the 91st Schützen Brigade was found near Meolo with his brains blown out, having killed himself amid the corpses of his forces annihilated after a valiant resistance.

Many Italian prisoners and wounded have been recovered, lying famished and untended in caves and abandoned houses and despoiled of all personal belongings, even to their boots and clothing. The body of the gallant Italian aviator, Major Baracca, was found beside his burned machine at the foot of Montello.

Allied airmen have detected the Austrians busy on the left bank of the river moving some miles inland the prodigious array of artillery, amounting to some 3,000 pieces, with which they began the battle of the Piave.

PIAVE DELTA CLEARED

The pressure against the Austrian lines continued with unabated vigor from June 25 to July 6, when the crowning triumph of the Italian resistance was achieved. The Austrians were driven from the delta of the Piave, where they had stubbornly withstood all the enemy's attacks for nearly eight months. Every day from June 25 to the final expulsion, one strategic point after another was gained by the Italians, with the French and British actively co-operating at the extreme left wing, until the west bank of the Piave was entirely cleared and the Austrians forced back beyond their original lines. The final act of the drama is thus described by Mr. West in a cablegram dated July 7:

Now that the splendid but hard-won Italian victory has scraped the whole Venetian plain thoroughly clean of the enemy up to the opposite bank of the great Piave stream, I am permitted to give some thrilling details of the terrible guerrilla warfare, rich in unrecorded deeds of heroism, which has been going on unceasingly day and night amid the mud and insidious marshlands of the lower Piave.

The second extraordinary bulletin, which General Diaz issued last night, contains the first clear intimations to reach the public of the important fact that the entire triangular sector having its head at San Dona and its base along the Adriatic Gulf from Cortellazzo to the extreme outlet of the old Piave River bed by the Venetian lagoons, has been held in the tenacious grip of the Austrian invader ever since November last.

Unable to dig trenches or to operate in large masses on this sodden soil, the Austrians had split up into innumerable small groups. Every factory, farmhouse, and cottage they converted into a fortress. They fixed machine guns in every treefork available, and sowed thick with them the banks of the countless canals. About 1,300 of these mitrailleuses have been already listed in the enormous booty captured, but hundreds more are left buried in the swamps or beneath the wreckage of demolished buildings.

Some of the severest fighting was sustained by the Italian Royal Marine Corps in the Cortellazzo Woods and in the extreme angle of the lagoons, in clearing which they encountered the famous Viennese "Company of Death," composed exclusively of volunteers, clad in black sweaters, the breasts of which are embroidered in white with a human skull.

Floundering in the bogs and losing their weapons, both sides were often driven in desperation to tearing each other with their teeth. During the tremendous hand-to-hand contests that accompanied the closing phase of the battle the Italian Arditi, or daredevils, performed astounding feats of agility. Their special task was to silence a swarm of machine guns protected by barbed wire entanglements.

The Arditi hit on a method altogether novel in the history of this war. Providing themselves with long leaping poles, they made a mighty rush, jumped the obstacles, and, landing in the rear of the bewildered gunners, drove daggers into their backs. One daredevil alone sent eight Austrians stampeding into the Italian lines under the menace of an uplifted hand bomb.

GENERAL DE MAUD'HUY



One of the leading French army corps commanders

SCENES MADE HISTORIC BY GREAT BATTLE



Entrance to the Chateau at Villers-Bretonneux



Ruins of the village of Loivre, at the foot of Mont Kemmel

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on AH Fronts and Collateral Events From June 19, 1918, Up to and Including July 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

Attacks by Turkish troops on the American consulate at Tabriz, Persia, and the looting of an American missionary hospital in that city were reported to the State Department June 19.

The Fourth Liberty Loan bill, authorizing bond issues of \$8,000,000,000, was passed finally July 5.

A treaty with Great Britain for the reciprocal conscription of British and American citizens was ratified by the Senate on June 24.

The second draft lottery was held in Washington on June 27.

In a letter sent to the House Military Committee July 2, Secretary Baker disclosed the fact that there were now 160,400 officers and 2,010,000 men in the army.

General Peyton C. March announced on July 13 that more than 1,100,000 soldiers were in the overseas army and that three army corps of about 700,000 men were in the fighting line.

A joint resolution giving the President power to take over telegraph, telephone, radio, and cable systems was passed.

Ninety-five ships of 474,464 tons and seventeen war vessels were launched on the Fourth of July.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The Norwegian freighter Augvald was sunk by a submarine June 23, 125 miles east of Cape Race; three members of her crew were drowned and thirteen others were unaccounted for. The British transport Dwinsk, while on its way to America for troops, was sunk about 550 miles east of Sandy Hook, June 24. A German submarine captured the Norwegian bark Manx King, on July 6, 300 miles off Cape Race, and set the crew adrift in small boats. It was not known whether the ship was sunk or converted into a German raider. The sailing vessel Marosa was sunk about 1,200 miles east of Sandy Hook July 8.

Germany announced on June 23 that ships sunk in the month of May aggregated 614,000 tons.

A statement issued by the British Admiralty on June 26 showed that the total British, allied, and neutral tonnage sunk during May was 355,694, of which 224,735 tons were British. American and British ship construction in May was 372,608 tons.

Twenty Norwegian ships were sunk during the month of May, and thirty-one men were lost.

Announcement was made on June 26 that the

Canadian Pacific liners Pomeranian and Medora had been sunk.

The Canadian hospital ship Llandovery Castle was sunk off the British coast June 27, and 234 persons were missing.

The American transport Covington, formerly the Hamburg-American liner Cincinnati, was sunk while en route from a French port to the United States without passengers or troops. Six members of the crew were lost.

Passengers on a steamship which arrived at an Atlantic port July 4 reported an attack upon a convoy of vessels returning from Europe, and the loss of the British steamship Orissa on June 25. They also reported that the destroyers of the convoy had sunk two submarines with depth bombs.

A transport which returned to the United States from France July 8 was attacked by eight submarines in the Bay of Biscay when she was eastward bound and loaded with troops, but she escaped and sank one of the attacking U-boats. The destroyers escorting her sank another.

Announcement was made on July 17 that a Spanish steamship on which Minister Lopez de Vega was returning to Spain from Greece had been torpedoed, in spite of the fact that it was flying the Minister's flag and that the German Government had been notified of the Minister's departure.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

June 19—First German Army, under General von Below, makes unsuccessful drive at Rheims on a fourteen-mile line; three divisions smashed by the French; two American patrols cross the Marne east of Château-Thierry.

June 20—Americans take German trenches in front of Cantigny, and advance at Belleau Wood; British and French make successful raids from Ypres southward to the Oise.

June 21—American forces northwest of Château-Thierry make further gains on the north side of Belleau Wood; reconnoitring thrusts by the Allies all along the line; French gain north of the Ourcq.

June 23—British enter German positions near Bucquoy and Morlancourt; French carry out successful raids between Montdidier and the Oise; Italians, co-operating with the French, check German attack at Bligny.

June 24—Germans raid American trenches east of St. Die and southeast of Luné-

- ville, and capture some prisoners; Americans clear Belleau Wood of all Germans.
- June 26—Americans capture important German stronghold south of Torcy, after seven-hour fight.
- June 27—British take a strong point on the Lys salient, west of Vieux Berquin.
- June 28—British advance on a three-mile front opposite the forest of Nieppe, west of Merville, to a depth of nearly a mile, and overwhelm the 32d Saxon and 44th German Regiments, taking the hamlets of L'Epinette, Verte Rue, and Le Becque; French advance on a four-and-a-half-mile front southwest of Soissons to the north of Villers-Cotterets Forest.
- June 29—Germans make two unsuccessful attacks on French lines in the Ambien-Cutry sector; Americans make successful raid on German lines northwest of Montdidier.
- July 1—British attack German lines north of Albert and force the Germans back on important positions southeast of Bouzincourt; French improve their positions south of the Ourcq.
- July 2—Americans capture the village of Vaux and the Bois de la Roche, west of Château-Thierry; British repulse attacks northwest of Albert.
- July 3—Americans hurl back counterattacks at Vaux; French carry German positions on a two-mile front north of Moulin-sous-Toutvent, on the front between the Aisne and the Oise.
- July 4—Australians and Americans capture Hamel and the trench system beyond it, south of the Somme; French deliver two attacks between Autrechies and Moulin-sous-Toutvent, pushing into enemy territory.
- July 5—German counterattacks at Hamel repulsed; great activity by Allies on the entire front.
- July 6—Australians and Americans take the aggressive northeast of Villers-Bretonneux and advance on a front of 2,000 yards; Americans repulse raid at Xivray; French gain ground west of Château-Thierry.
- July 7—Americans take part in successful raids east of Hamel and in the Vosges.
- July 8—French deliver a blow on the edge of the forest of Villers-Cotterets, and break German lines on a front of 1.8 miles; Australians carry their line forward astride the Somme River to a depth of 600 yards on a front of 3,000 yards.
- July 9—French troops advance on a two-and-one-half-mile front west of Antheuil.
- July 10—French occupy La Grille Farm, advance to the outskirts of Longpont, and penetrate the northern section of Corcy; British advance 250 yards on a 1,200-yard front on the Lys.
- July 11—French capture Corcy and the farm of St. Paul to the south.
- July 12—French pierce German line a mile on a three-mile front north of Cantigny and capture Castel; also take Longpont to the southwest of Soissons.
- July 13—French make a new gain in the Longpont-Corcy area and push their lines across the Savières River, and also advance in the Antheuil district southeast of Montdidier.
- July 14—British defeat the Germans south of Ypres, advancing their front east of Dickebusch Lake.
- July 15—Germans launch offensive on a sixty-mile front from Château-Thierry nearly to the Argonne; Americans throw a whole division back across the Marne in counterattack in the curve of the river west and southwest of Jaulgonne; German gains from two and one-half to three miles on a wide front from Rheims to Dormans, pressing back the French and Italian lines to Chatillon, Cuchery, Marfaux, and Bonilly, and take some advanced posts east of Rheims; British improve their positions near Villers-Bretonneux.
- July 16—Germans force back French lines at Prunay, southeast of Rheims, taking the village, and push across the Marne southwest of Rheims, pressing the Allies back toward Epernay; Americans and French drive them back at St. Agnan and La Chapelle - Monthodon; long-range bombardment of Paris resumed.
- July 17—Germans repulsed in attack east of Rheims between Beaumont-sur-Vesle and Sillery, but advance a mile and one-half on a six-mile front on the western front of the Mountain of Rheims; Americans hold all gains between Château-Thierry and Dormans, and aid the French in pushing the Germans back on the Marne to a line running through Savigny, Bois de Condé, north of Chezy; Fermois-des-Clos-Milon to Nesle-le-Repons.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- June 20—Italians push forward their line between Giano and Sant Andrea past Casa Serena, wrest Rafea Peak and Costa Lunga Ridge from the Austrians, and retake Capo Sile.
- June 21—Italian counteroffensive gains ground in the region of Fagare and Zenon; Austrians fall back at Losson.
- June 22—Austrian offensive virtually at a standstill; Italian warships co-operate with troops and enlarge the Piave bridgehead at Cavazuccherina; Vienna claims 40,000 prisoners; captured Czechoslovaks executed.
- June 23—Austrians retire across the Piave from Montello to the Adriatic.
- June 24—Austrian retreat continues; Vienna announces the evacuation of Montello and the right bank of the Piave; Italians take thousands of prisoners; Nervesa retaken.
- June 25—Italians force the last rear guard of the retreating Austrians to surrender, completely reoccupy the west bank of the Piave, and begin offensive on the mount-

ain front between the Piave and the Brenta, in the Monte Grappa sector, inflicting heavy losses and gaining considerable ground.

- June 26—Italians completely reoccupy Capo Sile bridgehead and extend their line, holding it against all counterattacks.
- June 27—Regiment of troops in the American Expeditionary Force ordered to Italy.
- June 30—Italians, supported by French and British, capture Monte di Valbella.
- July 1—Italians capture Col del Rosso and the Peak of Echele and repulse heavy assaults on Monte di Valbella.
- July 2—Italians storm Austrian defenses in the region of Monte Grappa and capture important positions; General Otto von Below appointed Commander in Chief of the Austrian forces.
- July 4—Italians make further progress north of Cavazuccherina.
- July 6—Austrians completely expelled from the western bank of the Piave River.
- July 8—Italians advance their front line in the Grappa and Col Caprile regions.
- July 13—Austrian attacks on the Cornone slopes repulsed.
- July 15—French carry out surprise attacks into Austrian lines at Bertigo and Zocchi.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- July 6—Italian and French troops in Albania begin drive between the coast and the Tomorica Valley.
- July 9—Franco-Italian forces capture Fieri and important heights between Levani and the monastery of Pohani.
- July 10-11—Allies link up a 200-mile line from the Adriatic Sea to Saloniki; Italians occupy Berat; French advance between the Davoli and the Osum to the west of Koritza.
- July 13—Greeks disperse Bulgarian detachment on the Struma River; Austrians retire on organized line delimited by Rash-tani, Selchani, Hill 500, the confluence of the Tomorica, and the Devoli and Kurs-hova.
- July 14—French sweep Austrians back on the right bank of the Devoli and take Gramshi and Natta; British carry out successful raid on Bulgarian lines west of Doiran.
- July 15—French advance beyond Gramshi and reach the outskirts of Chekini and Cruja, coming in contact with new Austrian line.
- July 16—French extend their gains on the eastern bank of the Devoli River, occupying three more villages.
- July 17—French extend their gains north of the Devoli River and occupy Meran.

ASIA MINOR CAMPAIGN

- July 12—Turkish troops attack British positions in Palestine commanding the crossings of the Jordan and on the ridges north of Jericho, but are driven back in counterattacks.

AERIAL RECORD

Announcement was made on June 21 that American airmen had joined the allied aviators on the Italian front and were aiding in the battle along the Piave.

The Germans continued their raids on hospitals. A Canadian hospital behind the British front was bombed on June 24 and several persons, including doctors, nurses, and patients, were killed. Fifty-four Belgian girls were killed in a raid on an ambulance park at La Panne. An American Red Cross hospital at Jouy was bombed on the night of July 15. Two enlisted men were killed and nine persons wounded.

Paris was bombarded on the nights of June 26 and June 27, but there were few victims and little property loss. One German aviator was killed and two were taken prisoner. Another raid occurred July 1.

British aviators raided Saarbrücken, Karlsruhe, Offenburg, Mannheim, Thionville, and the Metz-Sablons railroad on June 25. The Badische aniline and soda factory at Mannheim was damaged and many persons in the city were killed. Coblenz and Saarbrücken were attacked on July 5. Offenburg, Karlsruhe, and Thionville were again attacked on the nights of July 15 and July 16.

British naval airplanes, in the period between July 4 and July 7, dropped six tons of explosives on German works at Ostend, Zeebrugge, and Bruges. Direct hits were observed on buildings and vessels. Five German airplanes were destroyed and three others were driven out of control.

A British submarine was slightly damaged and six men on board were killed when the craft was attacked by German sea-planes off the coast of England, July 6.

In the great German offensive on the western front, five bridges established by the Germans west of Dormans were destroyed by French aviators and by artillery, July 16. Fourteen tons of explosives were dropped on German lines of communication north of the Marne, and forty-one German planes were brought down.

Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt, youngest son of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, was reported shot down in an air battle inside the German lines in the Château-Thierry sector, July 14.

During the year ended June 30, 1918, British aviators brought down 4,102 enemy aircraft, and lost 1,121 machines. On the west front they brought down 2,150, and drove 1,083 out of control. Naval fliers brought down 623. Their own losses were 1,094 machines, including 92 which were working with the navy.

On the Italian front, from April to June, the British destroyed 165 enemy machines and drove six out of control. Thirteen British machines were reported missing.

On the Saloniki front, between January and June, 21 enemy aircraft were destroyed by the British and 13 were driven out of control. Four British machines were reported missing.

From March to June, in Egypt and Palestine, 26 enemy aircraft were destroyed by the British and 15 were driven out of control. Ten British machines were reported missing.

Thirty-three air attacks were made during June by the Allies against German towns and cities, according to a statement issued at Berlin July 17. Thirty-four persons were killed and 37 were severely injured. Thirty-five others suffered slight wounds.

NAVAL RECORD

Thomas J. McNamara, Financial Secretary of the British Admiralty, announced in the House of Commons on June 19 that twenty-one German destroyers and a large number of submarines were penned in the Bruges Canal docks as the result of the British naval operations at Zeebrugge.

Reports of the presence of a fast and heavily armed German raider in West Indian waters were received on June 25. A large British steamship was reported torpedoed.

Four British torpedo-boat destroyers fought a long-range engagement with a German destroyer force off the Belgian coast, June 27. The action was broken off before any decisive results were attained.

Word was received on July 12 that an American naval launch, after helping a French destroyer to tow a disabled seaplane to safety, was sunk by German shore batteries. Two of the crew were drowned and one taken prisoner.

The steamship Wimmera was sunk by a mine off the coast of New Zealand, with the loss of twenty-six lives, according to a dispatch from Vancouver dated July 17.

RUSSIA

Word was received June 23 that the Soviet Government would be compelled to conclude a foreign loan, and that in return for it Germany would be granted wide exploitation of Russia's natural resources.

General Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador to Russia, was assassinated by two Social Revolutionists on July 6. At the same time a formidable counter-revolutionary movement was attempted in Moscow by the Social Revolutionists. It was suppressed with bloodshed.

A state of war was proclaimed in the province of Archangel, June 23, due to Finnish attempts to take Kola. It became known on July 3 that Germans and Finns had invaded East Karelen and threatened the Murman Railway. Consuls of the Allies on that day received delegates from the Murman coast and the White Sea coast, asking for the protection of the Entente allied Governments.

The entire population of the Murman coast broke with Russia on July 7 and joined the Entente. Supplies from the United States were received at Murmansk. On the same day White Guards occupied Yaroslav, 173 miles northeast of Moscow, and cut communications between Moscow and Vologda.

American and British forces occupied the whole of the Murman coast, July 15, taking possession of the Port of Kem on the White Sea and advancing toward Toroki. General Tuan Chi-jui, the Chinese Premier and War Minister, announced on June 22 that Chinese troops were available for co-operation with the Japanese against the Bolsheviks.

Czechoslovak forces entered Yekaterinburg, on the Asiatic side of the Ural Mountains, June 26. Their forces in Siberia were left in entire control of Vladivostok July 1, after severe fighting, during which British and Japanese landing parties patrolled the streets to enforce neutrality in the area where the consulates were located. The Bolshevik Army in the region of Irkutsk was defeated July 5, and on the same day a mixed force of Bolsheviks and Austro-German prisoners was put to rout and the Czechoslovaks occupied Nikolayevsk, a naval station on the Amur River. Irkutsk was occupied by Czechoslovaks on July 13, and on July 15 they occupied Klutshensk, 550 miles east of Irkutsk, and also captured Kazan, 430 miles east of Moscow.

A new Provisional Siberian Government was established at Novonikolayevsk July 10. Its program included the liberation of Siberia from the Bolsheviks and the avoidance, if possible, of foreign intervention. Lieut. Gen. Horvath, the anti-Bolshevik commander, declared himself Premier and was proclaimed Provisional Ruler. The British, French, and Japanese Ministers to China asked him to withdraw his dictatorship on the ground that it was untimely and might impede the movement of the Czechoslovaks.

Stephen Pichon, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the occasion of the presentation of the colors to the Czechoslovak Army on the western front July 1, addressed a letter on behalf of the French Government to the Czech National Council recognizing the independence of the Czechoslovaks as a nation.

On July 10 word was received that a memorandum had been presented to the Japanese Foreign Minister and to the allied Ambassadors at Tokio by the Czechoslovak National Council, announcing that Czechoslovak troops operating in Russia desired to fight on the western front and did not want to be mixed up in Russia's internal affairs.

The Wologdach Republic was established in Northern Russia July 10. It comprised the territory in Northeastern Rus-

sia, from the White Sea to the Asiatic frontier.

- A revolt occurred in Ukraine against German rule. A fire in Kiev on June 25 destroyed five square miles of the town, the Odessa Arsenal was blown up, and a flotilla of improvised monitors under command of a sailor bombarded Nagaur-en. A fierce battle between Germano-Ukrainian White Guards and the peasants was fought at Yekaterinoslav June 30.

RUMANIA

The Rumanian treaty of peace with the Central Powers was ratified by the German Reichstag July 3, and by the Rumanian Senate July 5.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Serious outbreaks occurred in Austria-Hungary. The Vienna City Council, on June 19, passed a resolution protesting against the reduction of the bread ration, and on the same day the Vienna Labor Council passed a resolution calling for a speedy peace. Bread riots occurred in Vienna, and on June 22 nine strikers were killed and thirty-six wounded in Budapest in conflict with the police at Government railway shops. The strikers formulated a demand for peace.
- The von Seidler Cabinet resigned June 23, but Emperor Charles refused to accept the resignation and convoked the Reichsrat for July 16.
- Mutinies occurred in the army in Hungary June 28, at the garrisons of Gyor and Pecs. Two thousand of the military were reported shot.
- Martial law was proclaimed in the Duchy of Styria July 2 in order to deal with mutiny and desertion.
- Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister, in addressing the Reichstag on June 24 on the second reading of the budget, discussed the military situation and the peace outlook. He indicated the probability of a long war, which would be ended not by a decision at arms, but by diplomatic negotiation.

The storm caused by this speech, together with aspersions cast on his personal character, which resulted in his bringing suit for libel against two Berlin newspapers, brought about his resignation July 9. Admiral von Hintze was appointed to succeed him.

- A report received from Spain, June 28, announced that Austria had asked the Spanish Government to try to open diplomatic relations with the Entente, with a view to a general peace.

Count von Hertling, the German Chancellor, in his speech before the Reichstag Main Committee on July 11, denied that Germany intended to retain Belgium and said that the country was being held as a pawn for future negotiations.

- On July 16, Baron von Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, addressed to the Austrian and Hungarian Premiers a detailed discussion of peace based on President Wilson's Fourth of July speech at Mount Vernon.

The three-class ballot reform bill was passed by the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, July 5.

- A. Malinoff formed a new Cabinet in Bulgaria, June 22.

The French Government created a Secretaryship for Franco-American War Co-operation and Premier Clemenceau appointed André Tardieu to the post, June 19.

- M. Duval, General Manager of the Bonnet Rouge, was shot as a traitor at Vincennes, July 17.

Earl Curzon announced in the British House of Commons on June 20 that both home rule and conscription for Ireland would be put aside for the present, and said that the Sinn Fein plots and the Roman Catholic clergy's stand against conscription were responsible. Forty thousand rounds of ammunition were seized in Dublin, June 24. Premier Lloyd George addressed Parliament June 25, announcing that he would stand by conscription, but asking for sanction for his preliminary system of volunteering.

Haiti declared war against Germany, July 15.

The Stars and Stripes

By HENRY VAN DYKE

Thank God we can see, in the glory of morn,
The invincible flag that our fathers defended;
And our hearts can repeat what the heroes have sworn,
That war shall not end till the war-lust is ended.
Then the bloodthirsty sword shall no longer be lord
Of the nations oppressed by the conqueror's horde,
But the banners of freedom shall peacefully wave
Over the world of the free and the lands of the brave.

Americans on the Battlefront

More Than 1,100,000 of Our Men in France, and
700,000 on the Fighting Lines

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1918]

COINCIDENT with a remarkable acceleration in the sending of American troops across the Atlantic, units already in France have been gaining fresh laurels on the firing line and gradually relieving the Allies of sectors and parts of sectors. On June 21 it was stated that American troops were then holding thirty-nine miles of the western battlefront, occupying positions in six different sectors. Here they continued the minor operations, made several small gains, and scored at least two important successes on a larger scale.

The success at Château-Thierry in the Marne region was followed up by the Americans who attacked the German line northwest of the town during the night of June 19. They advanced more than half a mile and drove the Germans back from a small pocket on the northern side of Belleau Wood. Here, during the morning of June 21, the Americans straightened out their line by a series of small but brilliantly executed attacks.

Cantigny, in the Montdidier sector, was the scene of another short and fierce struggle on the morning of June 20, when American troops stormed German trenches and machine-gun nests in front of the village. Most of the German troops, acting under orders to hold their positions at all costs, were killed by rifle and machine-gun fire and bayonet. Considering the small scale of the operation, the casualties suffered by the enemy were unusually heavy.

By far the most complete operation planned and executed by American officers and men up to date was the American advance in the Marne Valley on July 1, resulting in the capture of the town of Vaux. The advance was on a two-mile front to a depth of about a mile, taking in some high-lying ground behind Vaux as well as the town itself. [Full descriptions of this American achievement will

be found in succeeding pages of this issue.]

The Australians, in their advance at Hamel of one and a half miles on a four-mile front on July 4, had the assistance of American infantry units, which greatly distinguished themselves and won high praise from their comrades. The only criticism the Australian officers had to offer was that the Americans were too enthusiastic and too eager. How our men fought alongside the antipodeans is also fully described in this issue.

A MILLION IN FRANCE

The past month has been prolific in evidence of the remarkable growth of the American Army abroad. More than 1,100,000 men have been sent abroad, and more than 700,000 are combatants under General Pershing. A large number of Americans are in training in Great Britain, where General Biddle is in command of units which are stationed at nearly eighty points throughout the country.

The remarkable acceleration in the rate of sending troops across the Atlantic, already mentioned, was shown in a letter from the Secretary of War to President Wilson on July 1. The facts disclosed for the first time were the following:

The first ship carrying military personnel sailed May 8, 1917, having on board Base Hospital 4 and members of the Reserve Nurses Corps.

General Pershing and his staff sailed on May 20, 1917.

The embarkations in the months from May, 1917, to and including June, 1918, are as follows:

1917—		1918—	
May	1,718	January	46,776
June	12,261	February	48,027
July	12,988	March	83,811
August	18,323	April	117,212
September ...	32,523	May	244,345
October	38,259	June	276,372
November ...	23,016	Marines	14,644
December ...	48,840		
		Total	1,019,115

The total number of our troops returned from abroad, lost at sea, and casualties, is 8,165, and of these, by reason of the superbly

efficient protection which the navy has given our transport system, only 291 have been lost at sea.

MARCH'S STATEMENT

General Peyton C. March, Chief of the General Staff, in a statement on June 22, threw considerable light on recent American military activities in France. Of figures concerning those on the fighting line he said little, but he disclosed the fact that about 12,000 marines were there under Brig. Gen. James G. Harbord of the regular army. He said a good word for the colored troops, and added that "so far, whenever the test has come, regardless of the character of the troops themselves, the American troops have done well."

To the 1st Regular Army Division, under Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard, General March gave the credit for the capture of Cantigny. This was the first American division landed in France. In connection with the Cantigny battle General March emphasized the "very striking example" it afforded of high-class teamwork between infantry and artillery, "and particularly the staff." It showed that our staff training, he said, had now reached the point "where it can work successfully."

Good words were said by General March also for the Rainbow Division—the 42d—under Major Gen. C. T. Menoher, and the New England Division—the 26th—under Major Gen. Clarence Edwards.

Speaking again on June 29, General March announced that the 77th National Army Division, composed mostly of New Yorkers and trained for service at Camp Upton, Yaphank, L. I., had taken over a sector on the western front. This was the first National Army division assigned to a place on the firing line. The division was originally trained by Major Gen. J. Franklin Bell, and after his relief from command was taken across by General Johnston.

General March also made known that five divisions of American troops that had been assigned to veteran British units for intensive training had been transferred to the direct command of General Pershing. This was in accord-

ance with the understanding reached with the British Government at the time the United States consented to have some of its contingents placed with British troops under British commanders. None of these American units has been in France for any considerable period. The American Army overseas was reaching such a state of efficiency that General Pershing could henceforth use his own experienced units as monitors and instructors for troops green in the game of war.

General March disclosed also that the first American troops were landed in Italy on July 28, 1918, and that they consisted largely of Sanitary Units.

On June 28 additions to the sectors in France, where Americans are holding positions, were announced, bringing the total number up to eight. The last sector taken over was in Alsace, near where the battlefront crosses from Germany into France. The eight American sectors were then in the following vicinities: Near Montdidier, northwest of Château-Thierry, immediately east of Château-Thierry, at Toul, in Lorraine, and three in Alsace, one near the border line, another south of that, and one in front of Belfort.

THREE ARMY CORPS

Following an announcement on July 1 that the first American Army corps was just being organized, there came on July 13 the news that General Pershing now had so many properly trained divisions at his disposal that he had been able to form three army corps, which did not include several hundred thousand men training in France and Great Britain and on the way across the Atlantic. Each army corps numbered from 225,000 to 250,000 men, so that approximately 700,000 Americans were actually on the battlefront. The three corps were designated the 1st, 2d, and 3d. The 1st was composed entirely of veteran troops, including the 1st and 2d Divisions of regulars and the Marine Corps Brigade, which distinguished itself in the Château-Thierry-Soissons sector. The complete composition of the three corps, as given out by General March, was as follows:

FIRST ARMY CORPS

Temporarily commanded by Major Gen. Hunter Liggett.

1st (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard.

2d (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Omar Bundy, including marines.

26th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Clarence R. Edwards, composed of New England troops, many of whom had seen service on the Mexican border. This was the first National Guard division sent to France.

42d (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Charles T. Menoher, known as the Rainbow Division.

41st (National Guard) Division, originally commanded by Major Gen. Hunter Liggett, composed of troops from the Pacific Coast States and known as the Sunset Division.

32d (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. William G. Haan, composed of troops from Michigan and Wisconsin.

SECOND ARMY CORPS

77th (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George B. Duncan, composed of New York troops. This was the first National Army division sent to France and to the front.

35th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. W. M. Wright, composed of troops from Kansas and Missouri.

82d (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. William P. Burnham, composed of troops from Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee.

30th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George W. Reid, composed of troops from Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia.

28th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. C. H. Muir, composed of troops from Pennsylvania.

4th (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George H. Cameron.

THIRD ARMY CORPS

3d (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman.

5th (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. John E. McMahon.

78th (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. J. N. McRae, composed of troops from Delaware and New York.

80th (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Adelbert Cronkhite, composed of troops from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

33d (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George Bell, composed of troops from Illinois.

27th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan, composed of troops from New York.

General March explained that the commanders of the 2d and 3d Corps had not yet been selected, as the policy of the War Department was to wait until Major Generals acquired the experience necessary for the handling of large bodies of men. As soon as the permanent corps commanders were chosen they would be promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General.

The total number of officers and men in the army about the middle of July was approximately 2,200,000, distributed as follows:

On the front with General Pershing.	700,000
Training in France and Great Britain, and en route to Europe.....	400,000
Training in the United States and stationed at army posts.....	1,100,000
Total	2,200,000

American casualties up to and including July 15, 1918, were as follows:

Killed in action.....	1,379
Lost at sea.....	291
Died of wounds.....	606
Died of accident or other causes.....	508
Died of disease.....	1,345

Total deaths.....	4,129
Wounded	5,459
Missing, including prisoners.....	522
Grand total.....	10,110

To the above should be added the following Marine Corps casualties up to and including July 15:

Dead	573
Wounded	1,044
Missing, including prisoners.....	65

Total

The aggregate on July 15 of all casualties sustained abroad was 11,792.

\$12,000,000,000 Army Bill Passed

Congress on July 6 finally disposed of the Army Appropriation bill, providing \$12,085,000,000, which was duly signed by President Wilson. The principal appropriations included:

Ordnance and ammunition	\$3,000,000,000
Clothing	1,230,000,000
Machine guns.....	575,000,000
Armored motor cars.....	347,000,000
Transportation	1,532,000,000
Aviation	884,000,000

Among the provisions of the bill are those changing the basis of States' draft quotas from total population to the number of men in Class 1, registering subjects of the Allies made liable to military service by treaties such as the recently ratified Anglo-American reciprocal draft agreement, the organization of a Slavic legion, consisting of Jugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, and Poles in the United States who wish to fight against Austria-Hungary.

The bill originally provided for the promotion of Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, Judge Advocate General and Provost Marshal General, to the rank of Lieutenant General for the duration of the war.

In declining the proposed honor, General Crowder summarized the work done under his direction in administering the selective draft law:

Forty-eight States and three territorial headquarters and nearly 6,000 local and district boards, with an aggregate membership of nearly 18,000 citizens, assisted by legal and medical advisory boards in every jurisdiction, have co-operated with the national headquarters efficiently and honorably, many without compensation, in the superb teamwork which has produced the gratifying result attained under the selective service law. These results embrace the registration of more than 10,500,000 citizens and their classification for military service, and the entrainment of nearly 1,000,000 men now serving with the colors. By Aug. 1 of this year this number will be approximately 2,000,000, and by the close of the year, if ex-

pected requisitions are received, the aggregate will approach 3,000,000.

The proposed promotion was stricken from the bill on the ground, advanced by General Crowder, that it would be invidious to recognize his work and not that of the citizens who had co-operated with him.

A treaty between the United States and Great Britain and Canada was signed on June 3 and ratified by the Senate on June 24, whereby Americans in Great Britain and Canada who are within the American draft ages of 21 to 31 years, and Britons and Canadians between 20 and 44, who are resident in the United States, are made subject to compulsory military service if they have not, within sixty days after the exchange of ratifications, returned to their native land or enlisted in the military forces of their own country.

The War Council, which had been created by the Secretary of War, was abolished by Mr. Baker on July 8. All the general officers who had been members of the council had been assigned to various other positions, and the council had therefore become unnecessary. They included General Bliss, appointed American military representative on the Versailles War Council; General Biddle, who was sent to Great Britain to take command of the American troops training there; General Weaver, since retired, and General Sharpe, detailed to the command of the Southeastern Department.

America's War Effort

By NEWTON D. BAKER

[SECRETARY OF WAR]

The following is a summary of what was accomplished by the United States War Department from April 6, 1917, when war was declared, to July 1, 1918. It is a letter sent by Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, to the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives:

SINCE April 6, 1917, the regular army has increased from 5,791 officers and 121,797 enlisted men to 11,365 officers and 514,376 enlisted men; the National Guard in Federal service from 3,733 officers and 76,713 enlisted men to 17,070 officers and 417,-

441 enlisted men; the Reserve Corps in actual service has increased from 4,000 enlisted men to 131,968 officers and 78,560 enlisted men; the National Army has been created with an enlisted force of approximately 1,000,000 men.

The army has increased in fourteen

months from 9,524 officers and 202,510 enlisted men to approximately 160,400 officers and 2,010,000 enlisted men.

The number of men in France or en route to France, including combatants, medical service, service for supply, and all the units which go to make up an entire army, is on July 1 practically 1,000,000 men.

2. *Supplies for Soldiers*—The size of this undertaking may best be seen by these typical purchases by the Quartermaster Corps from the beginning of the war to June 15, 1918:

HARDWARE AND METALS

Articles and Unit.	Quantity.
Hammers, each	2,567,000
Axes, each	5,121,729
Files, each	10,870,000

VEHICLES AND HARNESS

Halters, each	1,700,000
Escort wagons	120,000
Combat wagons	26,000

ANIMALS

Horses and mules.....	339,593
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CLOTHING AND MATERIAL FOR CLOTHING

Shoes, pairs	27,249,000
Boots, (rubber, hip,) pairs.....	2,340,000
Overshoes, (arctic,) pairs.....	4,010,000
Cotton undershirts, each.....	43,922,000
Denim cloth, yards.....	103,028,000
Stockings, (wool,) pair.....	104,333,000

3. *Health of Men in Cantonments*—

The deaths per thousand from all causes in the regular army of the United States have been as follows:

1898	20.14	1901	6.90
1900	7.78	1916	5.13

The death rate per 1,000 among all troops—Regulars, National Army, and National Guard—in the United States for the week ending May 31 was 4.89, and for the week ending June 7, 4.14. The death rate for disease only among all troops in the United States for the week ending June 7 was 3.16, which is still lower than that of the preceding week, 3.2, which was then the record low rate since that of Nov. 2, 1917.

Hospital Accommodations in France and the United States and Supplies Therefor—The bed capacity on June 5 in all department hospitals in the United States was 72,667. New construction now under way will provide for a total of 87,344 beds. The number of base and general hospitals in this country has increased

from seven to seventy-two, and will be further increased. Vast hospital facilities have been organized and are being organized in France, providing beds numbering from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. of the number of men in the American Expeditionary Force.

Psychological examinations, of which more than 500,000 have been made, result in the weeding out of about one-fourth of 1 per cent. of the men examined.

Nutritional surveys, in 270 messes in 50 camps, have resulted in a readjustment of rations and a conservation of food.

The number of officers in the Medical Corps has increased from 900 to 24,000; the number of enlisted men from 8,000 to 148,000. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the Sanitary Corps and of the army nurses.

4. *Transportation in France*—With the completion of the organization of five new regiments and nineteen battalions of railway engineers there will be over 45,000 Americans engaged in railroad construction and operation in France. Nine regiments of railway engineers have been in France since last August.

There have been produced for the railroad operations of the War Department in France more than 22,000 standard-gauge and sixty-centimeter freight cars and more than 1,600 standard-gauge and sixty-centimeter locomotives. In addition to this, purchases of both cars and locomotives have been made abroad.

A double line of railroad communication has been secured from the French by army engineers, extending from the coast of France to the battlefield, including the construction of hundreds of miles of trackage for yards and the necessary sidings, switches, &c.

5. *Aircraft Production* — (Training planes, bombing planes, combat planes, and guns therefor; and production of Liberty engines.)

Deliveries of elementary training planes to June 8, 4,495.

Deliveries of advanced training planes to June 8, 820.

The average weekly production of advanced training planes during April was

22; during May, 45½; week ended June 8, 78.

To June 8, 286 combat planes were delivered. The weekly average of this type of machine in April was 5; in May, 38, and for the week ended June 8, 80.

Six thousand eight hundred and eighty elementary training engines were delivered to June 8.

Two thousand one hundred and thirty-three advanced training engines were delivered to the same date.

More than 2,000 Liberty engines have now been delivered to the army and navy. The average weekly production in April was 96; in May, 143, and in the first week of June, 115.

Thirty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty machine guns were delivered for use on airplanes before June 8.

6. *Rifles and Ammunition*—More than 1,300,000 rifles were produced in America and delivered between the declaration of war and June 1 of this year.

Deliveries of new United States model 1917, the so-called modified Enfield, have passed the million mark. In the two weeks preceding June 1 more than 66,000 rifles were delivered. Sufficient rifles are being received now to equip an army division every three days.

7. *Ordnance Supplies, Artillery, Browning Guns, &c.*—As to machine guns, heavy Browning guns for instruction purposes are in every National Guard camp and National Army cantonment in this country where troops are in training. During May more than 900 of these heavy machine guns were delivered.

More than 1,800 light Browning machine guns were delivered in May.

Probably the most difficult undertaking in the outfitting of an army is the manufacture of heavy artillery. Not only are the forging and machining processes extremely difficult, but it has been necessary to create manufacturing facilities for the vast proportion of the program. Sixteen plants had to be provided for the manufacture of mobile artillery cannon. In practically all cases these plants had to be retooled, and in some cases they were built from the ground up. The same difficulty is

met in the design and manufacture of artillery carriages, but the artillery program is now approaching a point where quantity production is beginning.

The first of four Government-owned shell-fitting plants has been completed and is beginning to produce. In addition, a number of private plants are at work loading shells. Vast as were the privately-owned facilities for the manufacture of powder and high explosives, the Government has provided additional facilities which are very much larger than those which private enterprise had created.

Ordnance engineers, it seems, are well on the way to a solution of the problem of the motorization of field artillery. The problem of motorization of light artillery has been a constant factor in slowing the advance of troops to await the bringing forward of their supporting guns. Tractors have been used by all nations, of course, to haul heavy pieces along good roads, but they have been unable to develop tractors for hauling light pieces over shell-shattered ground. On June 3 the Ordnance Department demonstrated a five-ton armored artillery tractor, which proved capable of negotiating the most difficult terrain, hauling a 4.7 howitzer, which weighed approximately 9,000 pounds.

Approximately \$90,000,000 is being spent to provide for the manufacture of nitrates, which are essential in the manufacture of explosives, but which heretofore had to be procured from Chile. The building of these plants will add to our powder output, will save large amounts of cargo space, and it is supposed after the war will produce nitrate for fertilizing American farms.

8. *Port Facilities in France*—Among the most dramatic stories of the war is that of the development by American engineers and American enterprises of port facilities on the French coast. It is not permissible to say where this development has taken place, but the scope of it may be judged by the fact that it would be possible to handle during the month of July a maximum of 750,000 tons at the ports of the American Army in France.

It was necessary before troops of the

American Expeditionary Force could be landed to send an organization of foresters into the woods of France, to send knocked-down sawmills after them, to cut down trees, to shape them into timbers, and to build them into docks in order that our troops might leave their ships. Fast as this work was, and large as the flow of troops has been accelerated, the facilities for dockage have kept pace with the shipments of troops and supplies. *

9. *Morals of the Army*—Consensus of opinion is that drunkenness in the army is completely under control, both in the United States and France. General Pershing states: "As there is little beer sold in France, men who drink are thus limited to the light native wine used by all French people. Even this is discouraged among our troops in every possible way."

You may travel for weeks in France without seeing an intoxicated American soldier. In *The Congressional Record* on or about March 31 there is a reprinted statement of a journalist in France, beginning:

"Every one is on the water wagon at the American front. During the last month I have been at the front daily and often twice a day, seeing thousands of American soldiers. In that time I saw exactly one man drunk, and one other who was under the influence of liquor."

The Third Assistant Secretary of War in ten days at a National Army camp adjacent to Chicago saw two men intoxicated.

There is no permanent military camp

in the United States with a red-light district in its vicinity.

The Commission on Classification of Personnel reports that a surprisingly large proportion of recruits ask to be placed in the most hazardous branches of the military service. If a reply is needed to those who say that the men in the National Army are in camp because they have to be, it is this—that those same men are going over the top because they want to go.

The desire among men in the military service to get to France and to the front is universal. The Secretary of War stated before the Senate Military Affairs Committee that he had seen grizzled men of the army turn away from their desks to hide their tears when they were asked to do organization work in America rather than go to France, where the glory of their profession lies. When the Secretary of War started for Europe and was on the ocean he was approached, in a number of instances, by seamen, requesting transfer to the army in order that they might see service which seemed more active and closer to the front.

In France it was necessary to change the name of the zone behind the armies from the Service of the Rear to Service of Supply, because of the difficulty in getting men to serve in a region having the shell-proof connotation of the word "rear." Even at the actual front there is something of a tradition against the use of the term No Man's Land. Our men prefer to call it—and to make it—Yankee Land.



American Victories in France

Important Advance at Vaux, Near Château-Thierry, and Capture of Hamel, in Conjunction With British

The most important engagements of the Americans in the period between June 15 and July 15, 1918, were, first, the capture of the village of Vaux, followed by the advance of their lines a mile on a two-mile front, in an action entirely conducted by Americans in the Château-Thierry district on July 1; second, on July 4, the taking of Hamel, south of the Somme, in an action in which Americans and Australians fought side by side, advancing more than a mile on a front of four miles, capturing 1,500 prisoners and much material. The fighting in this sector was participated in by the 1st, 2d, and 3d Divisions, the units in the 2d Division including the 9th and 23d Infantry Regiments, the 12th, 15th, and 17th Artillery, the 2d Engineers, and the 5th and 6th Marines.

Taking the Village of Vaux

By CAMERON MACKENZIE

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THE Americans on July 1 scored in one of those deft, eminently businesslike operations with which for more than a month now they have been pushing steadily ahead in the Marne Valley. They advanced their lines to a depth of about a mile on a two-mile front and captured the town of Vaux and certain high-lying ground to the north of it, bringing back no fewer than 500 prisoners, and all within the space of forty minutes.

The thrust, every detail of which was planned and executed by officers and men of the United States Army acting alone, was by far the most "finished" piece of warfare in which the new troops from overseas have yet been engaged.

It was as a logical development of their earlier successes in the Château-Thierry sector that the Americans advanced in the evening of July 1. Although with the taking of Belleau Wood in the previous week a definite chain of operations had in the American military view been brought to completion, there remained an unfortunate loop, or sag, in their front which it eventually was deemed advisable to straighten.

The straightening of it involved the occupying of Vaux with its tap on the main railroad line into Château-Thierry, the capture of a knoblike crest of ground

designated as Hill 192, on the edge of Clerembauts Wood, and also the routing of Germans from a right sizable cluster of trees, midway between the two other points and known as Laroche Wood. The town, hill, and wood became the American objectives, and preparations for the adventure began.

There was something splendidly thoroughgoing in the manner in which the job was approached. Vaux offered the chief problem. The village, which in peace times had a population of about 700, was heavily garrisoned with German troops, and also it was known that nearly every principal building sheltered a well-manned machine gun.

The Americans began with the usual maps and air observations, but soon supplemented these methods of intelligence with others. The countryside was scoured for refugees from Vaux. An old mason-builder was found among others, who as it turned out actually knew the interior arrangements of most of the dwellings in the place.

Scouting parties and patrols night after night kept locating nests of machine guns by carefully drawing their fire. Picture postcards were gathered wholesale, and other methods were invoked.

Before 6 o'clock in the morning the

United States Army knew practically all there was to know about the once sleepy little village of Vaux, knew every turn of its cobbled streets, knew every structure and precisely where it stood, knew every room, every attic, every cellar, and all had been mapped, with a little map and the most minute instructions for every khaki doughboy who was to have a part in the push.

At 6 o'clock the American artillery unlimbered, and until the turn of noon pounded away with great throaty heavies on back regions of the objectives. The guns fired were American guns, the gunners who fired them were American gunners, and the shells that methodically and with a sort of unemotional, matter-of-fact regularity went whining forth from the depths of a copse of leafy woods, sundering the hot Summer's morning, were American shells.

INTENSE BOMBARDMENT

By noontime it was judged that the rear positions of the Germans had been sufficiently plastered with iron, and the American artillery then began intensive fire upon more immediate points of the coming attack.

The bombardment which the United States artillery conducted in the afternoon is worthy of note. To begin with, never before have Americans attained a violence of fire comparable with that which they then attained. Of course, there was no such intensity as has been frequently reached upon British and French fronts, but it, nevertheless, was very high-keyed shellfire and decidedly suggestive of warfare as England and France have come to know it.

In the next place the fire was of the most telling accuracy. After the troops entered Vaux later, they did not find a single building that had not been struck at least once. At one time during the afternoon the Germans attempted to move separate groups of reserves into the village, but every one of the groups was annihilated in its tracks.

After the fighting was over I saw a very pale and very shaky German, who had been slightly wounded and was receiving care—and splendidly decent care it was—in an American field hospital.

His declaration was that at noontime there were 4,000 Germans concentrated in Vaux, but that before 6 o'clock, when the attack proper came, all but 700, under the force and terror of the searching and ceaseless American artillery, had fled.

OVER THE TOP

The exact hour when the doughboys went over was three minutes before 6 P. M. In one long-drawn, well-aligned wave they crawled from their trenches or shelters, and, closely hugging an almost perfect barrage, without getting their noses into it, set out all along a two-mile front at an evenly smart pace. Their slight dip down into the long, gentle scoop of a ravine, a not difficult scramble up the opposite slope, and their bobbing tin hats were gone into the roaring evening. In twenty-four minutes they were in Vaux and in twenty-six minutes they completely possessed themselves of Hill 192.

In Laroche Wood a little sharp, close work and some expeditious bombing and bayoneting had been done. Forty minutes were required for the job of that objective.

The resistance in Vaux proper was not very stiff. The Germans endeavored to get machine guns into effective play, but to do so skillfully was difficult. Every American moved to the particular post in the town to which he had been previously assigned, there to perform the particular job he had been bidden to do. None failed, and with such admirable smoothness did the machinery work that as if in a twinkling all was over, and within half an hour a line of American ambulances was wheeling into the village.

WAR IN EARNEST

Of the military value of the action it is difficult at present to form any estimate. The attack was not unrelated to the French thrust toward points south of Vaux, but of its value to American confidence and spirits there can be no doubt, nor can there be doubt that in its adroitness, dispatch, its thoroughness, its sustained team work, what it accomplished was a small triumph.

How much more poignantly than any

words of statesmen or barebone figures of troops brought to France did the entire episode bring the conviction that the United States really was in the most utter truth in the war over and over again! That thought recurred as one passed the long lines of American transport, slow, shadowy, and mysterious, crawling through the night, or came upon dusky columns of American dough-boys moving cautiously with bated breath forward to the line, or saw American lads with bandaged heads and limbs lying moaning, or perhaps mute and still, beneath the candle-lit images and crucifixes of some tiny, dim French chapel converted into a hospital or dressing station.

Yes, in the Marne Valley one feels that the United States is immensely in the war, and after Vaux all doubts seemed silenced to nothingness by the tireless American guns which, not content with their work of destruction by day, were with gradually paling flashes roaring in the dawn of the new day.

AMERICAN GUNFIRE

Precisely twelve hours before the infantry had advanced the American guns, firing American shells, manned and directed exclusively by American gunners, had unlimbered for the work of preparation. At that time Vaux was completely intact. Its walls had been somewhat nicked by rifle fire or straying shrapnel,

and many window panes, according to the American scouts, were missing. Here and there a roof gaped to heaven in token of some preliminary range testing, but Vaux was still a town, a place of habitation, and not a building there but had its four walls solidly standing. Moreover, there was hardly a structure in Vaux that was not of stone. It was against such a stronghold that the American artillery battered for twelve hours on Monday, July 1.

The next day Vaux was an utter and complete ruin, a mere heap of shattered masonry. Not a building was left. A few jagged walls remained standing, but very few. The centre of the town, which was the chief point of the American fire, was battered flat.

The Château-Thierry road, running through the heart of Vaux, and down which on the first day of June the Germans passed on one of the most determined of their pushes toward Paris, is piled high with huge fragments of blasted stone. For the sake of comparison, take the towns of Ypres, Arras, and Bapaume as they existed in the middle of last Winter. Not one of these places had then been reduced by the Germans to the completely debilitated condition in which Vaux is today. The American artillery has proved itself capable of executing within a very brief space of time a veritable masterpiece of demolition.

Thorough American Work at Vaux

By EDWIN L. JAMES

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THE fight had been planned ten days. Our intelligence officers had learned the exact details of the village. Maps of the two villages had been made on a large scale, showing not only every house, but the nature of every house and every cave, wine cellar, or other retreat that might hide soldiers. These caves were known to harbor Germans and were certain to be their refuge. On these maps every battery had a number of houses to destroy, and every cave was

assigned to some gunner, who was charged with closing the entrances. To the infantry were given maps of the villages, and to squads under Corporals was assigned the job of clearing up the cellars containing Germans, so many Americans being assigned to each cellar.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of July 1 our artillery let loose on Vaux. Guns scattered over a long stretch were centred on the unfortunate place. Then in merciless, methodical fashion we set to

work to depopulate Vaux of Germans. All morning our guns, big and little, pumped high explosives and gas into the village. The accuracy of aim was the same as that which gave rise to the saying that American naval gunners can hit a ten-cent piece at ten miles.

At noon the commander of the artillery reported that Vaux was on fire, and that every house had been hit at least once. Standing on a hill to the south, one could see the big shells land in some little house. There was a cloud of yellow smoke, and the house was no more. But the bombardment did not halt at noon. All the afternoon our guns kept pounding. They were guns made in America.

FOLLOW A CREEPING BARRAGE

At 6 in the evening, after an early supper, the infantry started. But first the artillery range was lifted from Vaux, and the first creeping barrage ever put over by Americans started over the whole area. This area had been divided into checkerboard squares, to each of which one of the guns had been assigned to drop shells. At the start of the barrage a line of shells was dropped across the nearest edge of the area. Three minutes later there was another line of shells a few yards further on. In these lines shells fell about ten yards apart and made a curtain of steel under which no German could live except in a dugout.

Certain and sure that raking fire went across that area, and moving along after it went our infantry. From the first they found that the Germans had been absolutely demoralized by our fire. With the exception of a barrage that the Germans got down on some of our men just before they started, the first 1,000 yards of advance brought remarkably few casualties.

Our line started from a long ravine sheltered by trees. In front of the men was a large wheatfield, with Vaux over beyond the northeast end, and the Bois de la Roche lying to the north of it.

From a neighboring hill our infantrymen could be seen, their brown backs bobbing through the wheatfield, with the curtain of shells ahead.

The advance started at 6 o'clock, and at 6:25 the first of our men entered the village of Vaux. By 6:40 they had gone through the woods, gaining all their objectives. Our stormy petrels took Vaux in clean-up style. Squads were ready with their hand grenades to mop up the cellars, but many of these had been closed by our fire, and the Germans had been buried in them. From others the Germans came out and surrendered. In some there was difficulty, and in that case our men threw in hand grenades in great numbers. Generally, if there were any Germans left, they surrendered. There is a strong probability that, when all the prisoners captured are accounted for, the total will be above 500.

TERRIBLY EFFICIENT

Every action connected with the attack was most efficient. Four hours after the men went over the top American telephone lines were working from Vaux back to our headquarters. By 7:30 our ambulances were running into the wrecked village.

The German prisoners agree that the American artillery work was terrific. In the operation we used many thousand high-explosive and gas shells. A wounded German brought in about 10 o'clock said that in the morning there had been 4,000 Germans in the village, but after the barrage started some had been withdrawn, leaving only those who could be sheltered in sixty-eight caves in the village. He said the cave in which he took refuge was wrecked by an American shell and that he lay wounded for six hours until the Americans came in, when one of them heard him yelling "Kamerad!" He said that for twelve hours the bombardment of Vaux had been hell and that the Germans were glad when the artillery stopped and the attack came.

TALAAAT PASHA



Grand Vizier of the Turkish Empire
(Paul Thompson)

FIELD MARSHAL BOROEVIC



Commander in Chief of the Austro-Hungarian armies in Italy up to
July, 1918

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The Advance at Hamel

By PHILIP GIBBS

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THE Australians, assisted by American infantry and supported by tanks, delivered a smashing attack on the Germans July 4, making an advance of one and one-half miles on a four-mile front, including the village of Hamel and the trench system beyond, south of the Somme.

Under the widespread flight of shells, (the bombardment extended over a wide front,) the tanks started forward. Smoke screens were sent up in front of them in dense clouds, which lay low on the ground, to hide them from the German anti-tank guns, and into this fog they went, nosing their way at a steady pace.

Besides the officers and crews, shut up inside their steel walls, working the engines and guns, there were three or four men sitting on the tops, utterly exposed. Their legs dangled over the sides of the tanks, like those of boys going for a joy ride, and in this way they rode into hellfire, as it seemed to the men watching them, because of the smoke screens and the flashes of the shells beyond.

The infantry followed in waves, loose and open lines of men extending forward as they went, close to the barrage, rolling slowly on ahead of them—so close that they took the risk of being wounded by their own fire, but preferred this risk to the more deadly one of lagging behind and giving time for the German machine gunners to get to work.

There were only a few places where the German machine guns opened fire and gave trouble. One of those positions was in the rear trench, where no tank could get into position, and here the enemy fought stubbornly, firing machine guns with a persistent tattoo until they were rushed by Australians.

All this battle happened in a kind of twilight. At 3 o'clock there was a faint line of dawn over the trenches and woods, and ten minutes later there was fair visibility for 300 yards ahead, as tested by

Australian staff officers. In this half light, fogged over certain lines by smoke wreaths, the Australians made their way, shouting for the enemy to surrender.

The companies of Americans who assisted in the battle were eager to go forward to meet the enemy face to face for the first time and prove their fighting quality. They have proved it up to the hilt of that sword, which is in their temper and spirit.

Australian officers with whom I spoke told me the Americans attacked with astonishing ardor, discipline, and courage. If they had any fault at all, it was overeagerness to advance, so that they could hardly be restrained from going too rapidly behind the wide belt of the British shellfire as the barrage rolled forward.

CELEBRATING THE FOURTH

It was a historic day for them and for the British. It was the Fourth of July, the day of American independence, when many French villages quite close to the fighting lines were all fluttering with the Tricolor and the Stars and Stripes in honor of their comradeship in arms and symbolizing the hope of peace in the united strength of the armies that now defend her soil.

And it was the first time the American soldiers had fought on the British front. They understood that on their few companies, fighting as platoons among the Australians, rested the honor of the United States in this adventure. Their General and his officers addressed them before the battle and called on them to make good.

"You are going in with the Australians," they said, "and those lads always deliver the goods. We expect you to do the same. We shall be very disappointed if you do not fulfill the hopes and belief we have in you."

The American boys listened to these

words with a light in their eyes. They were ready to take all the risks to prove their mettle. They were sure of themselves, and were tuned up to a high pitch of nervous intensity at the thought of going into battle for the first time and on the Fourth of July.

"LUSITANIA," BATTLECRY

The Americans were not tender hearted in that eighty minutes of the advance to the ultimate objective with any of the enemy who tried to bar their way. They went forward with fixed bayonets, shouting the word "Lusitania" as a battlecry.

Again and again the Australians heard that word on American lips, as if there was something in the sound of it strengthening to their souls and terrifying to the enemy. They might well have been terrified—any German who heard that name, for to the American soldiers it is a call for vengeance.

It is a curious fact that with less provocation than the French, who see their own towns destroyed before their eyes and a great belt of ruin across their country and a world of tragedy where their own families are separated from them by the German lines, the American soldiers have come over here with such a stern spirit and with no kind of forgiveness in their hearts for the men who caused all this misery.

Today the young American soldiers who come out of battle wounded tell their experiences, and through them all is the conviction that the Germans are "bad men," and that death is a just punishment for all that they have done.

KILLED SEVEN GERMANS

One American Corporal, only 21 years of age, was wounded three times, but killed seven Germans, which, as he reckons, is two boches for each wound and one over. He had an astonishing

series of episodes in which it was his life or the enemy's. After going through the enemy's wire near Vair Wood, he found himself under fire from a machine gun hidden in a wheatfield, and was wounded badly in the thigh with an armor-piercing bullet designed for tanks.

He fell at once, but, staggering up again, threw a bomb at the German gun crew and killed four of them. One ran and disappeared into a dugout. The American Corporal followed him down, and the man turned to leap at him in the darkness, but he killed him with his bayonet.

He went up from the dugout again to the light of day above, and a German soldier wounded him again, but paid for the blow with his own life.

Another German attacked him, wounded him for a third time, and was killed by this lad whose bayonet was so quick.

That made six Germans, and the seventh was a machine gunner whom he shot. By this time the American Corporal was weak and bleeding from his wounds, and while he lay, unable to go further, he hoisted a rag on to his rifle as a signal to the stretcher bearers, who came and carried him back.

The American companies had very light casualties, and are satisfied. They accounted for many of the enemy. They are glad of that in a simple, serious way, and the spirit shown by those American soldiers in action on the British front for the first time seems to me, in spite of their youth, like that of Cromwell's Ironsides, stern and terrible to the enemy, who to them is the enemy of God and mankind.

The General commanding the French Army in the Château-Thierry sector announced that the Bois de Belleau, where the Americans won their victory June 26, would be known hereafter as the "Bois des Américains."



Heroic American Deeds

Edwin L. James, THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent with the American Expeditionary Force, relates these typical instances of individual courage:

LYING on a corner cot in a hospital was a young American soldier who took part in the fighting north of Belleau Wood on June 26. And he had a terrible grouch as he told me his troubles. He was afraid that the war would be over before he could get back into it, since he had had the ill-luck of being wounded just when he was getting really interested.

As I turned away an army surgeon called me aside and told me this lad's story.

In the severe fighting of June 26 this boy of 19, who is a Sergeant, was leading seven men with their rifles busy. One by one his men fell, until he was left alone.

Still shooting at every German head he could see, he came to a little clearing, where he got five Germans covered. They threw down their rifles, held up their hands, and yelled "Kamerad!"

The American youth kept his rifle on them and advanced, when a sniper got him through the right arm. He had to drop his rifle, but drew his automatic with his left hand and kept on going. Then the sniper wounded him in the left leg. That did not halt him. He forced the Germans to disarm; then he directed them to make an improvised litter for him.

Pressing his automatic into the back of one of the Germans, the Sergeant ordered them to carry him back to his post command. Down through woods swept by machine-gun fire, down a road, across a field, and then to his post command his captured litter bearers took him. Then he was put into an ambulance and taken to the rear.

After his wounds had been dressed at a field hospital he was completely disgusted when told that he had to go to a base hospital for a long time. He was still aggrieved when he said to me, "Hell, the war will be all over before I get back." I would like to give this brave lad's name, but the censorship rules for-

bid until after the War Department notifies his family that he is wounded, which will be from ten days to two weeks.

For individual accomplishments in the way of bagging Germans the palm for fighting on June 26 goes to Private Frank P. Lenert, who hails from Chicago. Lenert got himself surrounded by Germans about 3 o'clock in the morning. Seeing that he was alone, he thought it best to call off the fighting for a bit.

Lenert is a German-American. His captors were seventy-eight privates and five officers. They showed great interest in knowing how many Americans were in the attacking party. Lenert told them that eight regiments had attacked and many more were coming after them.

The Germans knew the American barrage behind them had cut off their retreat, and they told Lenert that since so many Americans were coming it was useless for them to fight longer, and they craved the honor of surrendering to Lenert.

Not losing for a moment his self-possession, despite the situation thrust upon him by his overstatement of our forces, Lenert asked for his rifle and got it. Then he ordered the Germans to throw all their arms away, which they did.

Placing himself behind the eighty-three boches, he marched them triumphantly to the rear. On his way he met a detachment assigned to take back prisoners, but Lenert said, "Nothing doing. These are my meat."

At just 5 o'clock he reached his headquarters with his prisoners. His General believes that Lenert's bag is a record for an individual capture.

"My God," said Lenert, "no wonder these boches believe the lies their officers tell them when they swallowed mine about how many regiments were coming after them."

As the soldiers come out of the fight many tales of heroism are being told.

One group of Americans, commanded by a young Lieutenant, cut their way into a German company and were surrounded. Refusing to surrender, they cut their way out, losing half their number, but fifteen minutes later, with the aid of reinforcements, they cut their way back into the German company and killed or captured all the members of it.

At a hospital I saw one of the Germans of this company. I asked him how his company had fared, and he said:

"Sir, there were thirty killed by the Americans and fifty captured. There were eighty in our company."

Fighting in the American forces were many drafted men who had been brought up as replacements. They gave a good account of themselves in all instances by the side of the seasoned fighters.

One of the higher officers told me how two men who had been in the army only a few months were manning a machine gun, when a shell burst, destroying the machine gun and wounding both of them. They went back to their post command, asked and obtained another machine gun, and, going back, manned it until the fight was over. Both men are now in hospital. Our officers are enthusiastic over the good omen of the individual bravery of the drafted men.

The German wounded are surprised at the excellent care taken of them by our surgeons. With the exception of the Prussians, most of them behave in a very decent manner. The Prussians are insolent.

One Prussian youngster, when asked if his army was well fed, replied that they had plenty to eat, as had the German civilians. When the bread and coffee was passed around soon afterward, he was not served. This forced him to say that he had had nothing to eat for three days and was almost starving then. He got a small cup of coffee and one slice of bread, while the others got two. The majority of the prisoners are Poles, who are glad to be captured.

In spite of their bravado, all the Germans said they hoped the war would soon be over, and they are obsessed with the idea that it will end in three months with a German victory.

None knew anything about the Austrian reversal, and would not believe it when newspapers were shown them. Hindenburg rather than the Kaiser seemed to be their idol.

FRENCH PREMIER'S PRAISE

On the morning of June 27, 1918, Premier Clemenceau appeared on the American front where the deeds recounted above occurred and warmly complimented the troops on the operation, which he said was "peculiarly American in conception, plan, and execution." It was in this action that the Americans drove the Germans out of Belleau Wood, killing and wounding over 1,200, capturing 311, besides taking eleven machine guns.

Premier Clemenceau in his address placed due emphasis on the fact that the successful operations had been planned by American commanders and executed by American soldiers unaided.

This sent a thrill of joy through the American fighters, for because of the necessary extended training of Americans under the direction of the French the German command had drawn for home consumption the lesson that the Americans were not to be trusted to fight unaided. Propagandists and correspondents had been pushing this idea hard. It was the first time that Clemenceau had personally thanked an American unit in the line for good work. American officers today found the French Premier thoroughly familiar with their record since June 1. Speaking perfect English, he told the General and his staff that he had entered Richmond five days after Grant and had then learned the valor of American fighters which the descendants of the fighters of 1861 are now living up to.

He said the bravery of the American soldiers and their numbers made the doom of the German hopes of victory certain. He observed that Americans were now arriving in France at the rate of 300,000 monthly.

Despite his seventy-odd years, the Premier was hale and hearty, and showed the enthusiasm of a boy in his praise of the Americans.

Citations by General Pershing

On June 24 General Pershing cited a number of Americans for especial acts of bravery. These citations are typical of many scores of others that have followed since then, recording the actual deeds of American fighting men on the battle-fronts. They are placed on record here as examples of the courage of American troops under fire:

Private Herbert L. Lennox, Pottsville, Penn.—Severely wounded and unable to retire, concealed autorifle in bushes and with pistol in blouse lay on ground until enemy passed. When the enemy had been driven back in a counterattack. Lennox crawled back to the autorifle and opened fire on the retreating enemy, killing or wounding many.

Private Axel Jermaison—Wounded, but refused to quit. Acted as loader for automatic rifle until too weak to continue; ordered to the rear, picked up the rifle of a wounded man and fought in the trenches until the enemy was repulsed.

Sergeant U. B. Norman—Remained in fight, although seriously wounded, refusing treatment until others had been treated first.

Captain William B. Woodward, Brooksville, Miss.—Showed sound judgment and coolness in changing the missions of his batteries, giving maximum assistance to the infantry and protecting the artillery personnel.

Major L. E. Hohl, Pittsburg, Kan.—Rare courage and leadership in rallying remnants, 200 strong, of different organizations, dispersed by blowing up an ammunition dump.

Lieutenant N. Alnes Brown—Efficiency and coolness in the evacuation of wounded at personal risk, under trying conditions.

Private Robert Nelson—Exposing himself to heavy shellfire and acting as lookout.

Sergeant Samuel Core—Worked for nearly two hours without cover, wiring in a strong point within sight of the enemy's heavy shell and machine-gun fire.

Sergeant R. R. Buckwalter—Wounded before a fight, insisted on going forward with his section, buried by a shell; remained at work until the end.

Corporal Boleslaw Sugmoki—Unaided and with disregard to danger killed several German snipers who had inflicted casualties on the front line.

Private Samuel D. McCain, Philadelphia.—Rescued a severely wounded comrade, carrying him on his back across an area swept by machine-gun fire; carried another wounded comrade to a dressing station one kilometer under shellfire.

Private Ross E. Read, Portland, Ore.—Rescued a wounded comrade who became entangled in barbed wire during the height of machine-gun fire.

Private George Laube, Atlanta, Ill.—Gathered timbers to complete a bomb-proof shelter under a heavy machine-gun fire.

Sergeant Kenneth K. Burns, Rodeo, N. M.—Voluntarily installed and maintained telephone lines under shellfire.

Private Louis I. Dial, Stamford, Texas.—Maintained telephone lines under shellfire.

Private Oscar R. Knodel, Springfield, Mass.—When communications failed, voluntarily went forward under shellfire and procured valuable information on the progress of the fighting.

Private Albert A. Hazeltine, Butte, Mon.—Passed over road and fields under heavy shellfire to get information on the progress of the attack when the lines of communication failed.

Captain William P. Crooke, Anaheim, Cal.—Displayed courage in maintaining telephone communications, his great efficiency enabling his command to follow at all times the progress of the fighting.

Private Floyd Coulburn, Salisbury, Md.—At a time when it was necessary for the enemy not to obtain an identification, he brought in the body of a comrade killed in action. He was wounded and since has died.

Private Aug.—For heroic conduct with a daylight patrol in carrying out an important mission in the face of artillery and machine guns.

Private Raymond Upton.—For the same performance.

Lieutenant George M. Flack, Providence, R. I.—He kept his men in hand and held a post, despite serious losses, during an enemy raid.

Private Jesse Hyden.—After the Corporal and the remainder of the gun crew were injured and the gun put out of action he repaired the gun and resumed firing. Wounded in the head, he helped to carry two wounded men of his squad to a first-aid station.

Private John Norris—He repaired telephone lines under a terrific shellfire and was wounded.

Privates Roy Sage and Earl Arnold—They worked twelve hours on the night of May 27, laying telephone lines that had been cut three times, compelling them to return for more wire, under terrific shellfire and gas bombardment.

Private Harry March, Long Branch, Cal.—Volunteered to carry messages through a devastating fire and returned with valuable information.

Corporal Sam Zingman, Kovno, Russia.—He repaired telephone lines for twelve hours, perfecting connections under a terrific shell and gas attack.

Private Charles D. Fair—Was killed in action while repairing telephone lines under shellfire.

Privates Joseph Beck, Philadelphia; Ernest A. Becker, Henry C. Franz, Edgar A. Hartman, Robert E. Carson, and Mike Vujnovich—For repairing telephone lines under shellfire. All were wounded.

Lieutenant Robert W. Markus, Quincy, Ill.—He led a machine-gun section to a forward

position until he became unconscious from exhaustion.

Sergeant James W. Koon, Weems, Ohio—He operated the machine gun of the section until the ammunition was exhausted and ran through a heavy artillery fire to report to the platoon commander.

Sergeant Henry W. Endter, Bernard, Ohio—In disregard of personal danger he directed and assisted in digging out members of a platoon buried by the explosion of a large shell and cheered his men while under heavy fire.

Corporal Talmage W. Gerrald, Gallivants Ferry, S. C.—Killed while carrying a wounded man through barrage to a first-aid station.

Private Lindlay McPhail, Park Ridge, Ill.—He exposed himself to danger in assisting and directing the evacuation of wounded.

Captain E. S. Dollarhide, Philadelphia—Refused to leave a machine gun, although suffering from shell wounds, until forced to do so by his commander. He returned and fought throughout the engagement.

Private Paul Tereschenko, Philadelphia—Was wounded while delivering a message, but refused to go to the rear.

Private Daniel R. Edwards, Philadelphia—Handled a machine gun, although wounded. All his comrades were killed.

Sergeant Henry Krothe, Atlanta, Ga.—Remained at his post, seriously wounded, directing machine gunners.

Private L. C. Kohmann—Displayed a great courage and example to his men in braving machine-gun fire while delivering messages.

Private William R. Cox—For capturing seven German prisoners single handed after advancing 300 yards into the woods ahead of his comrades.

Corporal Judson E. Steele, Edgewood, Iowa—Buried three times by shell explosions and wounded, he kept his machine gun in action and refused to leave until ordered to do so.

Private Ivan L. Coiner—Manned a machine gun, although buried three times, and when his gun was shattered remained at his post with a rifle.

Sergeant Thomas W. Clemens, Kuttawa, Ky.—Although troops on both sides of him retreated owing to an intense bombardment, he kept his men at their post and prevented a panic.

Lieutenant W. P. Waltz, Belen, N. M.—Under personal risk he walked from gun to gun, directing and encouraging the machine gunners under heavy bombardment.

Privates Leo Ernest Du Bois, Marquette, Mich.; Leon Louis Smith, Waldo Emerson Canfield, and Donald Hartman Moore—For remaining on duty as observers in front-line trenches under violent shellfire.

Sergeant John Takach, Winburne, Penn.—His post cut off, he took charge of his men and fought until all were wounded; displayed skill and judgment in making a counterattack and retiring.

Corporal Carter C. Selfe, Bristow, Va.—Showed coolness and courage while severely wounded, going to the assistance of isolated comrades with an automatic rifle.

Private Benjamin Ferill—Displayed daring in climbing a tree to observe the approach of the enemy and giving timely warning to his platoon.

Private Cris Lee—Seeing the loader of an automatic rifle wounded, ran forward and seized the equipment of the wounded man and served the gun until severely wounded.

Lieutenant Gerwin D. Adair—For the same performance.

Heroes Rewarded With Distinguished Service Crosses

Distinguished Service Crosses were awarded to more than 100 American marines who performed deeds of exceptional valor in the fighting near Château-Thierry in June. Thirty-seven additional crosses were awarded July 11. The order of the American General issued in connection therewith was as follows:

It is with inexpressible pride and satisfaction that your commander recounts your glorious deeds on the field of battle. In the early days of June on a front of twenty kilometers, after night marches and with only the reserve rations which you carried, you stood like a wall against the enemy advance on Paris. For this timely action you have received the thanks of the French people whose homes you saved and the generous praise of your comrades in arms.

Since the organization of our sector, in

the face of strong opposition you have advanced your lines two kilometers on a front of eight kilometers. You have engaged and defeated with great loss three German divisions and have occupied important strong points—Belleau Wood, Bouresches, and Vaux. You have taken about 1,400 prisoners, many machine guns, and much other material. The complete success of the infantry was made possible by the splendid co-operation of the artillery, by the aid and assistance of the engineer and signal troops, by the diligent and watchful care of the medical and supply services, and by the unceasing work of the well-organized staff. All elements of the division have worked together as a well-trained machine.

Amid the dangers and trials of battle every officer and every man has done well his part. Let the stirring deeds, hardships, and sacrifices of the past month remain forever a bright spot in our his-

tory. Let the sacred memory of our fallen comrades spur us on to renewed effort and to the glory of American arms.

[It was reported July 2 that the 1st, 2d, and 3d Divisions of United States

Regulars, commanded by Major Gens. Robert L. Bullard, Omar Bundy, and Joseph T. Dickman, respectively, were in the Château-Thierry region and took part in the capture of Vaux.—EDITOR.]

German Official View of the Americans

AN official German Army report was captured July 7 on an officer taken in the Marne region. The document was as follows:

Intelligence officer of the Supreme Command at Army Headquarters, No. 7, J. No. 3,528, Army Headquarters, June 17, 1917.

Second American Infantry Division.

Examination of prisoners from the 5th, 6th, 9th, and 23d Regiments captured from June 5 to 14 in the Bouresches sector.

Purpose of the Attacks—The prisoners were not informed of the purpose of the attacks. The orders for the attacks on Belleau Wood were made known only a few hours before the attacks took place.

Arrival in Line and Relief—The marine brigades went into sector from June 2 to June 4, and elements of the other two regiments from June 5 to 6 in the area Torcy-Vaux, (4 KM. W. of Château-Thierry,) one battalion from each unit being in the front line. There they relieved French troops of various divisions whose identity they did not know. They had no information concerning their relief. Only the prisoners from the marine brigade considered that on account of heavy losses their relief was imminent.

Paragraph One—The 3d Marine Brigade belongs to the Marine Corps, which was already in existence in the United States during peace time. The 1st and 2d Marine Brigades are said to be still at home.

Paragraph Two—Regarding the distribution of machine guns, the prisoners made contradictory statements. They claim that in the 3d Marine Brigade, for instance, each regiment, in addition to the infantry battalion, has one machine-gun battalion of four platoons, each platoon having twelve machine guns. Furthermore, each brigade is said to have one brigade machine-gun battalion.

According to a captured order of battle of the 26th American Division, (Intelligence Officer 7, No. 3,228, June 8, 1918,) that division has only one machine gun company to a battalion in each regiment. In case the vague statements of the prisoners are correct, the discrepancy can be perhaps explained by the fact that the Marine Corps was part of the United

States peace army and was therefore equipped according to principles other than in the case of the 26th American Division, which has been formed from National Guard troops since the war began.

Elements of the 2d American Division were put into the Moulanville (Verdun) sector from the middle of March to the middle of May for training, and were relieved by unknown French troops.

The division was then moved by rail to the vicinity of Vitry-le-François, where it remained about five days. From there the division was transferred by rail, via Coulommiers-Denis-Pont-Oise, into the regions west of Beauvais. The 5th Regiment of marines was in the vicinity of Gisors, thirty kilometers southwest of Beauvais. The 6th Regiment of marines was at Chars, seven kilometers northwest of the marines along the Pont-Oise to Beauvais railway.

The 9th and 23d Regiments were quartered with and near the marines.

The division rested eight days in this region. Manoeuvres on a large scale or with large units were not held; only exercises in minor tactics, hand grenade throwing, and target practice were carried out. A few long practice marches were made.

On May 31 the 3d Marine Brigade was ordered to move and put into French motor trucks, (twenty men or ten officers in each truck.) The 5th Regiment of the marines was the first to leave and traveled via Beaumont, Lucarches, Ermenonville, (west of Nateuilles,) Plessis, Belleville, and Meaux to Lisy-sur-Ourcq, where they were unloaded after a journey of eighteen hours.

The next regiment to leave was the 6th Regiment of marines, which followed the same route, while the 9th and 23d Regiments apparently moved via Beaumont, Ecoven Genesse, Aulnay, (environs of Paris,) Clave, Meaux, and were unloaded in the neighborhood of La Ferté-sous-Jouarre. The 5th Regiment of marines was put into line during the night of June 2-3 as the first regiment of the division, the other elements taking up their positions in the sector in échelon.

The 2d American Division may be classified as a very good division, perhaps even as assault troops. The various attacks of both regiments on Belleau

Wood were carried out with dash and recklessness. The moral effect of our firearms did not materially check the advance of the infantry. The nerves of the Americans are still unshaken.

Value of the Individual—The individual soldiers are very good. They are healthy, vigorous, and physically well developed men of ages ranging from 18 to 28, who at present lack only necessary training to make them redoubtable opponents. The troops are fresh and full of straightforward confidence. A remark of one of the prisoners is indicative of their spirit: "We kill or get killed."

Method of Attack—In both attacks on Belleau Wood, which were carried out by one or two battalions, the following method of attack was adopted: Three or four lines of skirmishers at about thirty to fifty paces distance; rather close behind these isolated assault parties in platoon column; abundant equipment of automatic rifles and hand grenades. The assault parties carried forward machine guns and were ordered to penetrate the German position at a weak point, to swing laterally, and to attack the strong points from the rear.

Particulars on the American Position—No details are available. The prisoners are hardly able to state where they were in position. According to their statements, it may be assumed that the front line consists only of rifle pits one meter

deep, up to the present not provided with wire entanglements. The organization of the positions in rear is unknown.

Morale—The prisoners in general make an alert and pleasing impression. Regarding military matters, however, they do not show the slightest interest. Their superiors keep them purposely without knowledge of the military subjects. For example, most of them have never seen a map. They are no longer able to describe the villages and roads through which they marched. Their ideas on the organization of their unit is entirely confused. For example, one of them claimed that his brigade has six regiments, his division twenty-four. They still regard the war from the point of view of the "big brother" who comes to help his hard-pressed brethren and is, therefore, welcomed everywhere. A certain moral background is not lacking. The majority of the prisoners simply took as a matter of course that they have come to Europe in order to defend their country.

Only a few of the troops are of pure American origin; the majority is of German, Dutch, and Italian parentage, but these semi-Americans, almost all of whom were born in America and never have been in Europe, fully feel themselves to be true-born sons of their country.

(Signed) VON BERG,

Lieutenant and Intelligence Officer.

Bastille Day in the United States

Celebration of French Holiday

THE French national holiday, July 14, 1918, the one hundred and twenty-ninth anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, was celebrated throughout the United States with unexampled sincerity and fervor. Fully 200 American cities had official celebrations and a number of Governors of States officially recognized the day and called upon the people to observe it with appropriate ceremonies.

During the day in New York City there were salutes of warships in the harbor; formal military and naval ceremonials at forts, naval stations, and training camps; special services in honor of France and the French spirit of liberty in many churches; open-air meetings in the afternoon, and feats of flying performed in the air over the city by French and American aviators. In the evening a monster meeting was held in Madison

Square Garden, where 10,000 persons of all nationalities heard addresses by the Ambassadors from Great Britain, Italy, and France; also by Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and Ignace Paderewski, the pianist, who represented Independent Poland. Former Supreme Justice Charles E. Hughes presided. The celebration closed with a tableau showing those whom France had befriended in their hour of need, those whose aspirations she had fostered and whose fights for freedom she had helped, rallying to her aid when the hour came in which she needed help to preserve her own liberties. Into a space kept open in the floor of the Garden 2,000 soldiers and sailors marched in an allied tableau. First came a detachment of French marines, with fixed

bayonets, bearing the Tricolor. They halted in front of the platform and came to a salute as the "Marseillaise" was played. Then came a group of Belgian aviators behind their national flag; a British detachment; a detachment of Serbian veterans; Poles from the training camp at Fort Niagara; Italians, Greeks in costume, and then large detachments of American soldiers and sailors, all rallying to the aid of France.

President Wilson sent the following message to the people of France:

America greets France on this day of stirring memories with a heart full of warm friendship and of devotion to the great cause in which the two peoples are now so happily united. July 14, like our own July 4, has taken on a new significance, not only for France, but for the world. As France celebrated our Fourth of July, so do we celebrate her Fourteenth, keenly conscious of a comradeship of arms and of purpose of which we are deeply proud.

The sea seems very narrow today, France is so neighbor to our hearts. The war is being fought to save ourselves from intolerable things, but it is also being fought to save mankind. We extend our hands to each other, to the great peoples with whom we are associated, and to the peoples everywhere who love right and prize justice as a thing beyond price, and consecrate ourselves once more to the noble enterprise of peace and justice, realizing the great conceptions that have lifted France and America high among the free peoples of the world.

The French flag floats today from the staff of the White House, and America is happy to do honor to that flag.

President Poincaré of France sent the following:

France is profoundly grateful to the great sister Republic for joining with her in the celebration of the anniversary of the 14th of July, as France herself joined America to celebrate Independence Day. These mutual tokens of friendship have not the conventionality and coldness of mere official manifestations. They spring like a living flame from the hearts of our two peoples and have the force and the spontaneity of great national movements.

America and France feel closely linked across the ocean by their common aims and hopes. Like their allies, both seek to deliver the world of imperialistic tyranny and ambition. For this sacred cause, the valiant American soldiers are fighting today on French soil and, of late, on Alsatian ground.

I send to their parents, their mothers, their wives, their children, to all those whom the war has momentarily separated from those brave men, the assurance that they are and will be treated by France with the same affection as her own children, and that we will consider them not only as our brothers in arms, but as brothers by adoption, for whom shall be reserved forever a place at the family hearth.

Those who will have fought together for liberty will remain united to each other by indissoluble links. I express to the whole American people my admiration and my wishes for victory.

RAYMOND POINCARÉ.

General Foch sent the following:

We are celebrating today the anniversary of our independence, and we are fighting for that of the whole world.

After four years of struggle the plans of the enemy for domination are stopped. He sees the number of his adversaries increase each day, and the young American Army bring into the battle a valor and a faith without equal. Is not this a sure pledge of the definitive triumph of the just cause?

Cablegrams were sent to France by the Presidents of all the leading trade union organizations and labor societies, representing millions of toilers. These messages expressed the deep affection felt in America among all classes for France and renewed in vigorous terms the pledge that the war would be fought until France's rights were redeemed. Leading American public men, Judges, publicists, authors, and business men, issued statements extolling France and promising the fullest support to the French people in achieving their rights and in expelling the Germans from their soil.

The following dispatch, which was sent by the Chairman of the Committee on Allied Tribute to France, expresses the general note which everywhere in the United States was sounded on that day:

Spontaneously, without official decree, every city, great and small, throughout the United States, over 200 in number, is gathered in mass meeting, procession, or open-air demonstration to pledge its loyalty to France. We are ratifying by the voice of the people the history-making declaration of our President that the wrong done to France in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine shall be righted. You have fought with such patience that the very word tomorrow has been forgotten in your souls. We give you back tomorrow Alsace-Lorraine. In city, vil-

lage, in church, in camp, and in the great councils of associated labor, there is but one thought—France and America, united now and forever!

Former President Roosevelt sent the following letter to George W. Pepper, to be read at the Philadelphia celebration of Bastille Day:

July 2, 1918.

In this great war we stand unequivocally by all our allies, by every nation which has continued to fight, and which will continue to fight to the end, for the great common cause. We stand for England, and Italy, and Japan, for cruelly wronged Belgium and ruined Serbia, but for no nation do we stand more strongly than for France.

We feel for France ancestral friendship, and we have to France a hereditary debt to pay. Moreover, France has been the keystone of the arch of resistance to the weight of German brutality. France has suffered terribly. Not only must Germany make good her losses, but France must be guaranteed against a repetition of the wrongdoing. There is only one way to accomplish this purpose, and that is by insisting upon the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. This nation has been committed by the President himself to this purpose. The President has stated that Alsace and Lorraine must be re-

turned to France, and to this statement all wise and far-sighted Americans join in with a grateful "Amen."

We all stand unalterably and unequivocally with the President in this pledge. If Germany keeps Alsace-Lorraine, any peace is a peace of victory for Germany—a German peace. Of course, far more than restoring Alsace-Lorraine must be done, or else the peace will still be a German peace. But unless Alsace and Lorraine are restored to France it will of necessity be a German peace anyhow. When the peace negotiations come we must stand by all our allies.

In especial we must insist upon justice for every nationality oppressed by Austria, Turkey, or Bulgaria, whether in Asia Minor, in the Balkan Peninsula, or in the Dual Empire, and we must prevent the exploitation of Russia by Germany, and we must see Belgium amply indemnified. But above all else we should insist upon the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France, for by her terrible suffering and her gigantic achievement France has won the right to the whole-hearted, the unequivocal, and the unalterable support of this nation in the determination to replace her European boundaries where they were prior to the war of 1870.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. George Wharton Pepper, Pennsylvania Council of Defense.

Sinking of the Llandoverly Castle

Hospital Ship Deliberately Sunk by a German Submarine, With Heavy Loss of Life

WHAT was considered the blackest crime thus far committed by a German submarine in the campaign of unrestricted warfare was the sinking of the Canadian hospital ship *Llandoverly Castle*, an 11,000-ton vessel, seventy miles off the Irish coast, on the night of June 27, 1918. The ship had been chartered by the Canadian Government and had been carrying wounded and sick from England to Canada for many months previously. The *Llandoverly Castle*, at the time of its sinking, was on the way to England, having on board 258 persons, including eighty men of the Canadian Army Medical Corps and fourteen woman nurses. Only twenty-four per-

sons reached land, all the women being among those drowned.

The British Admiralty statement read in part:

Germany's awful debt to the world continues to grow. Another hospital ship has been torpedoed, this time seventy miles from the nearest land, and her people turned adrift in their boats to sink or swim as best they might. And though, as it happened, she was a Canadian hospital ship, returning from Halifax with no wounded aboard, the tale of crime reveals wanton deliberation on the part of the submarine commander.

It was during the night of June 27, toward 10:30, that the crime occurred. The *Llandoverly Castle*, steaming on her course at some fourteen knots, showed the usual navigation and regulation hospital ship lights. Under the overcast sky

she was plain to see, and could not be mistaken for anything but what she was—a ship immune by every law of war and peace from attack or molestation. No one on board saw the wake of the torpedo. The first intimation of the presence of a submarine was a jar and the roar of an explosion from aft. Then the lights went out.

All that followed, save when a dim light was obtained from an emergency dynamo, just before the ship foundered, took place in the darkness. The engines were rung once to stop, then full speed astern, but from the engine room came no answer. The rehearsed routine of the ship, however, held good. Along the darkened decks the crew groped to the boat stations and stood by for orders to leave her. From the bridge the Captain's megaphone, loud in the night, bade them hold till way was off the ship. The carpenter was aft making an examination of the damage.

In his wireless cabin the Marconi operator was trying in vain to transmit the ship's position. His key gave no response, the spark was gone. The carpenter's report was that No. 4 hold aft was blown in, and that the ship could not remain afloat. The order was given to lower away the boats on both sides and abandon the ship.

The officer commanding the Canadian Army Medical Corps on board reported that his people were out. This is important, in view of the fact that no boat but the Captain's has been picked up.

Save for any of the ship's company or engine-room crew who may have been killed by the explosion of the torpedo, it is clear that every one got away. One of the small boats, called "accident boats," was held back for those last to leave the ship. But when all the others were away the Captain went to his cabin for an electric torch, and on returning to deck found that this also had gone.

The submarine hailed the boat in English. "Come alongside," it ordered.

The boat was pulling down to pick up a drowning man. The second officer stood up and shouted back: "We are picking up a man from the water."

"Come alongside," repeated the brusque voice from the submarine. The boat held on its way, and forthwith two revolver shots were fired at or over it.

"Come alongside. I will shoot with my big gun," shouted the submarine commander. The boat lay alongside the submarine and the Captain (probably the man picked up) was ordered on board.

The commander asked him sharply, "What ship is that?"

"It is the hospital ship Llandovery Castle," answered the Captain.

"Yes"—the commander did not at-

tempt to appear surprised—"but you are carrying eight American flight officers."

"We are not," replied the Captain.

"We have seven Canadian medical officers on board. The ship was chartered by the Canadian Government to carry sick and wounded Canadians from England to Canada."

To the submarine commander's reiterated, "You have been carrying American flight officers," he added, "I have been running to Canada for six months with wounded. I give you my word of honor that we have carried none except patients, medical staff, crew, and Sisters."

The commander then demanded if there were any Canadian medical officers on the boat, and he was told there was one. He was ordered to come aboard.

"Where are our other boats?" asked the Captain. The submarine commander did not answer. He was watching the Canadian medical officer being roughly hauled on board and thrust along the deck. This was done so violently and with such plain intention to injure the Canadian, Major T. Lyon of the Canadian Army Medical Corps, that he actually had a small bone in his foot broken by the handling he received.

There was another German officer in the conning tower, the second in command, who had not yet spoken. In reply to the Captain's question, he motioned over his shoulder with his field glasses northward.

Major Lyon was interrogated after protesting as a medical officer, and ordered back into the boat. The Captain also was allowed to go. The boat was cast off, and pulled away from the submarine. The submarine began to circle round the wreckage at full speed. Several times it shaved the boat narrowly, once swirling past within two feet of it; once it stopped and again took the second and fourth officers aboard and questioned them.

By this time the submarine commander invented a new excuse. He stated that there was a big explosion aft as the vessel sank, and that therefore she must have been carrying ammunition. The second officer explained patiently that this was the explosion of the boiler and the falling of the funnel. They were allowed to return to the boat, which then made sail and proceeded.

Again, for a while, the submarine circled and threatened her by swooping close to her, then moved off and seemed to come to a stop. From this position, says the Captain's official statement, she opened fire at an unseen target, firing about twelve shells. It is perhaps too early yet to guess what the unseen target may have been. Possibly the other boats, when they are picked up, can furnish evidence on this point.

The Captain's boat had been towed for some distance while alongside the sub-

marine. Nothing was to be seen of the others. Since no wireless was sent out, there was no hope of assistance arriving from the north. The Captain therefore decided to make for the Irish Coast to send help. After sailing and pulling for about seventy miles they were picked up by the destroyer *Lysander*, which immediately sent a wireless that search should be made for the other survivors, and carried the occupants of the Captain's boat into Queenstown.

Major Lyon, on arriving in London, described his experiences. "The Germans," he said, "seemed obsessed with the idea that American aviators were aboard, and it took us some time to convince them otherwise." He continued:

I was taken to the conning tower and kept standing about three minutes while I was interrogated by the German commander regarding my being a medical officer. I saw eight or ten men while aboard. All of them spoke English.

Finally they sent me back to the life-

boat, my story having tallied with Sylvester's.

This seemed to surprise the Germans, as they pretended to be sure that aviators were aboard. I have my doubts about this belief being genuine, my idea being that the Germans simply used this as a pretext for the torpedoing of the *Llandovery Castle*. * * *

After our experience we all agreed that their first intentions were to sink without trace, but why they spared us is inexplicable unless it was because most of the survivors in our boat were men of the sea, and they tell me there is a sort of Freemasonry among them.

As the submarine disappeared in the darkness we heard ten or twelve shots, one over our heads. I shall never forget the cries of the helpless men in the water clinging to the wreckage that night. While the sea was rolling, it was not really rough, and I believe that if the Germans had not delayed us we would have been able to assist quite a number.

All the 234 persons in the other boats have been given up as lost.

Shipping Losses and Shipbuilding Progress

COMPLETED statistics for the month of May, 1918, showed that the production of new vessels by American and British shipyards was coming close to the amount of shipping lost by enemy action. The figures for the first five months of the year are shown in the following tables:

OUTPUT

	United States Gross Tonnage	United Kingdom Gross Tonnage	Total Gross Tonnage
January	55,316	54,907	110,223
February ...	77,265	93,785	171,050
March	107,881	151,569	259,450
April	100,178	105,625	205,803
May	162,025	162,444	324,469
Total	502,665	568,330	1,070,995

LOSSES

	British Gross Tonnage	Allied and Neutral Gross Tonnage	Total British, Allied and Neutral Gross Tonnage
January	218,528	136,187	354,715
February ...	254,303	134,239	388,542
March	222,549	176,924	399,473
April	220,709	84,393	305,102
May	224,735	130,959	355,694
Total	1,140,824	662,702	1,803,526

According to these figures, the average loss per month to the end of May was

360,705 gross tons, as compared with an average output of 214,199 gross tons. But the monthly production of new tonnage has advanced at a great rate. The production in the United States in May was 300 per cent. greater than in January, and also showed a big advance over the preceding month of April. The June production was still greater, amounting to 177,076 gross tons.

It should be kept in mind also that the United States figures are exclusively Emergency Fleet Corporation construction, while Great Britain's figures include all new tonnage built there.

It is also important to note the difference between "deadweight" and "gross" tons, since the indiscriminate use of the two terms has been the cause of considerable confusion. Deadweight tonnage means the maximum cargo, bunkers, consumable stores, engines, boilers, and all other matter, including the crew. Gross tonnage means the number of units of 100 cubic feet each of the entire cubical capacity of a vessel, including space occupied by cabins, boilers, engines, coal bunkers, &c. To reduce deadweight tonnage to gross tonnage, the term gen-

erally used, the deadweight tonnage must be divided by 1.60. In some cases the division is 1.65.

The further activities of the German U-boat which made the attack on shipping off the United States coast in the latter part of May, 1918, were indicated by the following reports:

The British transport *Dwinsk*, torpedoed on June 18 when 550 miles south by east of Sandy Hook, New Jersey.

The Belgian steamer *Chiller*, sunk by shellfire on June 21 when 1,400 miles off the Atlantic Coast.

The Norwegian steamer *Augvald*, destroyed by bombs on June 23 when 1,100 miles east of Sandy Hook and 125 miles East of Cape Race, Newfoundland.

The Norwegian bark *Manx King*, captured by a German submarine on July 6 when 300 miles off Cape Race.

These operations suggested that the German submarine was making its way in a homeward direction.

An official French dispatch received in Washington on July 3 pointed out that there were only a dozen German submarines at sea, instead of twenty, which had been generally operating at any given time. The dispatch continued:

It would seem that the enemy can no longer keep up his effort at this strength at all times and in all places, and that he needs to take breath for fresh efforts.

Doubtless a part of this falling off of the submarine offensive must be attributed to the operations against the ports in Flanders, to the fatigue of the crews,

exhaustion of materials, and, above all, to the losses it has sustained, because for a long time their losses have far exceeded the additions to the service of new submarines.

At the end of June a certain activity again manifested itself, but in the areas far out at sea, rather than in inclosed waters or near coasts. Whatever the causes, the submarine results made no progress in June.

The United States Army transport *Covington*, formerly the Hamburg-American liner *Cincinnati*, 16,339 gross tons, was sunk in the night of July 1, 1918, by a German submarine while on her way from a French port to the United States without passengers or troops. All the officers and crew, except six, were saved and taken to a French port.

The Naval Court of Inquiry, which dealt with the loss of the transport *President Lincoln* on May 31, found that the vessel was sunk by "an act of war" and exonerated the officers and men from all responsibility.

One of the notable features of the Fourth of July celebrations was the launching of nearly 100 ships at American shipyards. They included fifty-three wooden vessels and forty-two steel vessels, aggregating 296,540 gross tons. Seventeen war vessels, consisting of fourteen destroyers, one gunboat, and two mine sweepers, were also launched on July 4.

Enemy Aliens in the United States

Nearly 4,000 in Internment Camps—How the Camps Are Conducted—The Rumely Propaganda Case

ENEMY aliens in the United States for the most part have been permitted to pursue their normal way of life with very little restriction. Natives and subjects of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires have been registered and must carry certificates of identification. They are forbidden to go near camps, arsenals, navy yards, and other military and naval establishments, and they are not per-

mitted to reside in or visit certain districts.

By a bill approved by President Wilson on April 19, 1918, the provisions of the Espionage act were extended to women subjects of enemy countries. Such women thus become obliged to register. The well-known fact that women are employed as spies was responsible for this precaution.

The only enemy aliens that are in-

terned are, first, prisoners of war, including members of the enemy military and naval forces and officers and seamen of merchant vessels, and, secondly, civilians resident in the United States who are either found guilty or suspected of treasonable or seditious activities. The number of German prisoners is now between 3,500 and 4,000. Included among them is the crew of the German raider *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, which put in at Hampton Roads when the United States was a neutral. The crew was interned at the time under the international laws of neutrality. But when the United States entered the war the men became prisoners of war. A large proportion of the other Teutonic prisoners are officers and crews of the German steamers which were seized by the United States in April, 1917. The remainder are enemy aliens whose activities were regarded as dangerous at the time of their arrest—men who attempted or were suspected of attempting to destroy munition plants and interfere with the Government's military and naval preparations, or of spreading pro-German propaganda, or of giving utterance to seditious ideas and sentiments. This class includes a considerable number of Germans who were prominent figures in financial and commercial life or in art and learning.

THREE INTERNMENT CAMPS

There are three principal internment camps. The first is at Hot Springs, a North Carolina health resort, where the Government took a large hotel and its grounds. This is where the interned seamen are kept. The hotel can accommodate 500, and in the grounds there is plenty of room for barracks. The other prison camps are at Fort McPherson and Fort Oglethorpe, both in Georgia. Here cantonments similar to those occupied by United States troops have been erected.

As soon as the Government found itself confronted with the problem of handling war prisoners it decided that, no matter what the treatment of American prisoners in Germany might be, the United States was going to be scrupulously fair-minded and abide by The

Hague agreement. Under the provisions of this agreement prisoners of war have certain rights. For example, they may not be compelled to work at anything contributing to the Government's military activities; they are permitted to communicate with their friends; and if they work they are paid wages as officers and soldiers of the same grade. Many of the Germans are skilled workers and have done a good deal of the building at the cantonments where they are held as prisoners, and since the completion of the buildings have done all the necessary work in the camps.

The prisoners have been allowed to develop ways of life and amusements of their own. At Hot Springs they have built a German village which has every appearance of one of the old picturesque corners in Bavaria or the Black Forest. Here there are theatres and concert halls, stores, and a canteen, and practically everything required for the decency, comfort, and distraction of the modern man. And in addition the Y. M. C. A. has stationed Secretaries at all the prison camps for the same purposes as they serve with the army abroad and in the clubhouses in the United States. The food is good and the Germans are allowed to have it cooked in their own way by those among them who were cooks before being interned. Supplies, other than the rations, are bought at cost price, which is considerably lower than what is paid in stores outside.

ENEMY ALIEN PROPERTY

Not only are enemy aliens subject to special wartime laws and regulations, but all property belonging directly or indirectly to enemy subjects has been brought under the control of the Government. This work comes under the direction of the Alien Property Custodian, (A. Mitchell Palmer,) and is becoming more extensive and complicated every day as the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy and the Espionage acts are put into force. Several hundred million dollars in stocks, bonds, and other instrumentalities, real estate and fixed capital, and general merchandise have been seized.

An example of the extent to which German interests had developed in the United States has been seen in the investigation of the activities in this country of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, the great financial institution which has played so large and important a part in German imperial expansion. The investigation, which was made by the New York State Attorney General, Merton E. Lewis, and Federal officials, and which also covered the financial interests of certain German-Americans in Germany, indicated that there was \$300,000,000 worth of property in the United States the beneficial ownership of which was practically all held in Germany by enemies of the United States. Among the schemes unearthed was one to corner the wool supply of the United States for after-the-war consumption in Germany. The importance of German woolen interests in this country was further disclosed when the Alien Property Custodian seized six great German-owned woolen mills in New Jersey, valued at more than \$70,000,000. Similarly, German firms and individuals were largely interested in cotton, and several large groups of corporations involved in a scheme to supply Germany with cotton were taken over. The effect of the operation of German interests upon the actual conduct of the war was demonstrated in the case of a corporation referred to as the "L. C. Company," capitalized at more than \$50,000,000. It was one of the largest coke concerns in the United States. Until America entered the war the Germans represented in the ownership were able to keep all of its trinitrotoluol (TNT) by-products out of allied hands, although the stockholders lost a huge sum of money by doing so. The Deutsche Bank was largely interested in the company until it was reorganized under American control and its TNT by-products were made available for the Allies and the United States.

The Transatlantic Trust Company, which was organized in New York in 1912, was taken over by the Alien Property Custodian early in July on the ground that the majority of the stock

was owned by the Austro-Hungarian Government, which acted through three Budapest banks. On July 11 four Austro-Hungarian subjects connected with the institution were arrested. They were Guido von Steer, formerly private secretary of the late Emperor Franz Josef; Julius Pirnitzer, President of the company; Andrew Gomary, Pirnitzer's private secretary, and Dr. Isidore Szekely, until recently press agent of the company. Guido von Steer, who had been in the United States for three years and had made his headquarters at Allentown, Penn., was described as the company's "manager of confidential agents."

GERMAN PROPAGANDA

A sensational phase of the activities of the German Government in trying to use the press for propaganda purposes was exposed in connection with the arrest of Dr. Edward A. Rumely on charges of purchasing The New York Evening Mail with money supplied by the German Government and of making false statements about its ownership. The definite accusation was one of perjury, arising out of a statement filed with the Alien Property Custodian, in which Rumely asserted that The Evening Mail was an American-owned newspaper.

In many respects the financial features of the transaction—which, the Government charged, transferred the control of The Evening Mail from American to German interests—were similar to the plan followed by Bernstorff, Adolph Pavenstedt, and Hugo Schmidt in transferring the huge sum which was paid to Bolo Pacha, the executed French traitor, to debauch French public opinion in favor of a German-made peace. In the case of Bolo, the funds, which totaled about \$1,700,000, passed through a number of banks before they reached Bolo.

In the Rumely case, according to the Government agents, there were also several transfers, Dr. Heinrich Albert, the former German paymaster in this country, drawing the money out of banks in the form of cashiers' checks, which went to Walter Lyon of the former Wall Street house of Renskorff, Lyon & Co.

Lyon, in turn, indorsed the checks to that firm, which, it was alleged, subsequently paid the purchase amount in a single check to Lyon, who then, it was charged, paid it to Rumely. For this transaction, according to the Government, Lyon received a commission of \$5,000. The banks figuring in the original transactions, which involved the first payment of the purchase price of \$735,000, were the Equitable Trust Company, the Manhattan Company, the Columbia Trust Company, and the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company. But the \$750,000 payment was only about one-half of the financial outlay expended by the Germans in their efforts to have their own public opinion-making New York daily. After The Evening Mail had passed into Rumely's control, the New York State Attorney General said, it soon began to lose money. With its change from pro-ally to pro-German sentiment its subscription lists began to dwindle, and its income from other sources began to decline. The result was that, beginning in January, 1916, and up to the time that Bernstorff was dismissed from the United States The Evening Mail, according to the Government agents, cost the Kaiser an additional \$626,000, or a total, including the purchase price, of \$1,361,000.

According to statements made in Washington the money invested by German agents in The Evening Mail was part of a sum of \$30,000,000 set aside by the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments for propaganda in the United States. The arrest of Rumely, it was stated, would be only the first step in a nation-wide investigation to discover whether other newspapers were taken over with money put into the \$30,000,000 fund. The publication of The Evening Mail was continued by the bondholders.

While the charges made against Rumely have so far been the most serious in connection with pro-German propaganda in the United States, numbers of individuals have been arrested and imprisoned for isolated utterances of a disloyal or seditious character. A general survey of the situation, however, shows that since America entered the war the German element in the population and pro-German sympathizers have for the most part kept silent, and discouraged those among themselves who feel inclined to give expression to their opinions and sentiments, the most numerous cases of sedition arising in connection with the propaganda work of Socialists and similar opponents of the nation's war policy.

New Forces at Work to Save Russia

Allied Troops Guarding the Murman Coast and a Czechoslovak Army Fighting Bolshevism in Siberia

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1918]

THE factors in the Russian situation which attracted most attention in July were the Czechoslovak movement, with the various concomitant developments, and the efforts, so far upon the whole ineffectual, of the native Russian population to overthrow the Soviet régime.

At the time of the Bolshevik coup d'état there were in Russia a number of military units composed chiefly of Czechs

and Slovaks who had formerly been in the service of Austria-Hungary and who had gone over to the Russians, in the hope of fighting for their national independence on the side of the Allies. It is understood that at the request of the French the Soviet authorities equipped these soldiers for service on the front. Upon the conclusion of peace at Brest, an agreement was reached with the Chief of the Soviet Army whereby the Czecho-

slovak troops were permitted to proceed unmolested across European Russia and Siberia on their way to the western front.

The attitude of the Czechoslovaks to the Bolshevik Government had all the time been one of strict neutrality. Some friction between the two was caused by what the Czechoslovak soldiers construed as an unwillingness on the part of the Moscow Government to furnish them the means of transportation across Siberia. The friction turned into open hostility when, yielding to the pressure brought to bear upon the Bolshevik Government by Germany, Trotzky ordered the Czechoslovak troops to be disarmed.

The conflict began on May 26, when the Soviet attempted to enforce Trotzky's order. The Czechoslovak forces opened operations against the Bolshevik troops simultaneously in the Volga region and in Siberia. Early in June several towns along the Volga were in their hands. About the same time large numbers of them arrived in Vladivostok. During June 9 and 10 they occupied Samara and advanced to Ufa, in the Urals. They seized control of the chief grain routes and deprived Northern Russia of the Siberian food supply. In the middle of June they controlled the southern section of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Samara to Chelyabinsk, the northern branch from Chelyabinsk to Yekaterinburg, and the main line on the east of Novonikolayevsk. A month later they held the Trans-Siberian Railway from Chelyabinsk, in the Ural Mountains, to Krasnoyarsk, a distance of 1,300 miles, as well as its eastern terminus, scattered Czechoslovak units operating on an area stretching clear across Siberia.

The Czechoslovak forces defeated and ousted the Bolsheviks at Irkutsk and Vladivostok, (June 30.) During the fighting which took place in the latter city allied marines were landed for the purpose of protecting the consulates. Having disarmed the Bolsheviks at Vladivostok, the Czechoslovaks advanced into the Amur region and occupied Nikolayevsk, on the Amur River, as well as a number of other towns. On July 12 the Czechs held most of the Trans-

Siberian Railway, and detachments from Vladivostok were marching west to effect a junction with their comrades. Polish detachments were reported to have joined the Czechoslovaks.

OFFENSIVE AGAINST CZECHS

An official Moscow communication, dated July 9, announced a great victory over the Czechoslovak forces. It was stated that the Soviet troops took Syzran and Bugulma, in the Volga region, the Czechoslovaks and the White Guards fleeing in the direction of Samara. Three more towns were occupied by the Government troops. One of these cities, Yaroslavl, 173 miles northeast of Moscow, was previously reported to have been taken by White Guards. The Soviet troops also launched an offensive against the Czechs in Siberia, and claimed to have retaken one town. The communication stated that the Czechoslovaks committed atrocities upon railway men in Western Siberia. Another Soviet communication told of the suicide of General Muravyov, who led the Soviet troops against the Czechs. According to the official version, the General turned traitor, ordered his men to advance on Moscow, and, when the troops refused to obey his order, shot himself.

According to information obtained by the Washington Government, the Czechoslovak forces in Russia number 50,000. Colonel Vladimir Hurban of the Czechoslovak National Council estimated them at 80,000, and the number stationed in Vladivostok at 15,000. Well-informed Russians in London—and the German press—were inclined to double Colonel Hurban's estimate. The men were reported to be well fed and well clothed, but insufficiently armed. They were commanded by the Russian General Dieterichs, who was Chief of Staff under General Dukhonin.

Responsible leaders declare that the Czechoslovak forces now operating in Russia do not desire to undertake or in any other way to interfere in Russian internal affairs. A memorandum presented to the Japanese Foreign Minister and the allied Ambassadors in Tokio by Colonel Hurban speaks in the following

terms of the course the Czechoslovaks seek to follow: "The Czech Army consists of volunteers, whose object is to fight Germany and Austria, to liberate the Czechoslovak Nation, and to establish an independent State. The Czechoslovaks * * * have no moral right to pursue the policy of protection with regard to such a State as Russia. * * * Their clear duty is to pursue a strategical movement toward France." In discussing the situation the delegate of the Czechoslovak National Council for America pointed out, however, that the policy of the Czechs may be altered in view of the fact that the Bolsheviks broke the agreement with them.

ATTITUDE TOWARD SOVIETS

In a statement addressed to the American representative of the Finnish People's Republic, the Czech Socialist Federation of the United States protested against an attempt to identify the Czechoslovak soldiers, most of whom, the document asserts, are Socialists, with the cause of the counter-revolution in Russia. The statement quotes Professor Masaryk as saying: "Our army is struggling against the external foe. We are the guests of our brothers in Russia and we will not interfere in their internal affairs." The clashes between the Soviet troops and the Czechoslovak forces the federation considers to be the result of a misunderstanding, for which either the local Soviets or the armed Teuton prisoners are responsible.

In spite, however, of the Czechs' repeatedly proclaimed neutrality with regard to Russian internal affairs, it is certain that wherever their troops seized control the anti-Bolshevist elements immediately took the opportunity to overthrow the Soviet régime. After the Czechs had taken Samara the anti-Soviet portion of the population wreaked vengeance on their opponents. More than 100 Red Guards and many civilians were shot and the Soviet leaders arrested.

The triumph of the Czechs in Western Siberia apparently led to the overthrow of the Soviets in the entire region from Tobolsk to Semipalatinsk. Having de-

feated the Bolshevik forces at Vladivostok, the Czechs dissolved the local Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. They pursued a similar course of action at Irkutsk and elsewhere. A Peking dispatch, dated July 4, reported that, assisted by the Czechoslovaks, the counter-revolution was spreading all over Western Siberia, and that the Bolsheviks were fleeing to Mongolia. The Czech Army was frequently referred to in the allied press as a nucleus for the struggle against Bolshevism in Russia.

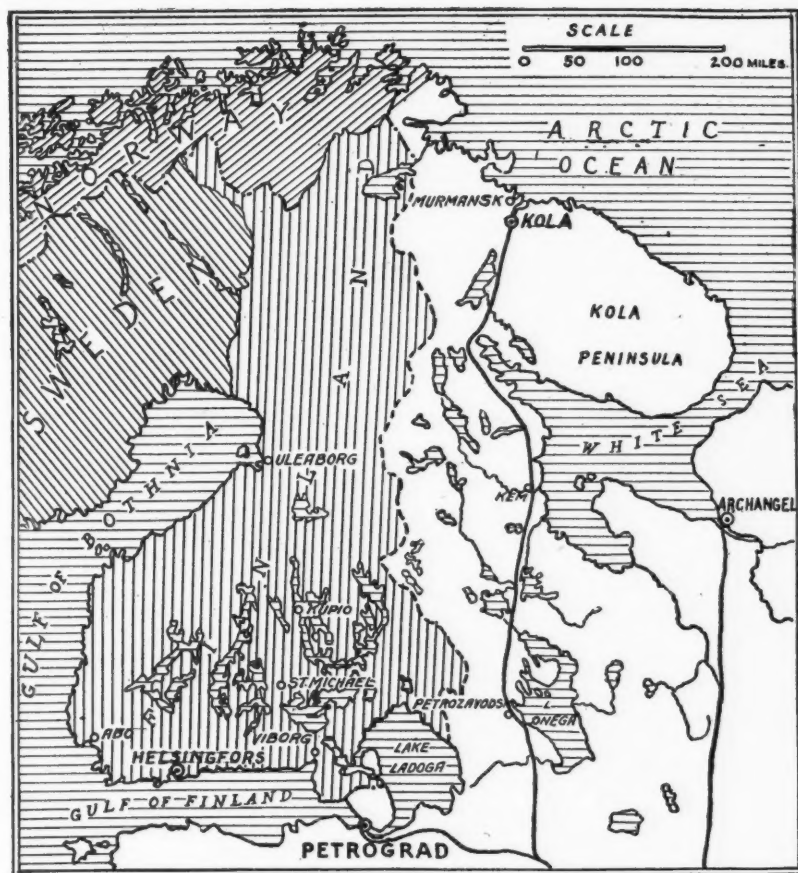
NEW SIBERIAN GOVERNMENT

It was reported on July 10 that a new Provisional Siberian Government had been established at Novonikolayevsk. This city is situated in Western Siberia, on the River Ob. It is one of those urban centres in Siberia which for the last twenty years have grown from insignificant hamlets into large towns. The new Government has set for itself the following tasks: The overthrow of the Bolshevik régime in Siberia; restoration of order throughout the country, if possible without foreign help; the convocation of the Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage; distribution of land among the landless; State control of the nation's economic activities; the creation of a provincial organ of self-Government and a Labor Bureau.

Another non-Bolshevist Siberian Government was reported to have been set up at Nizhne-Udinsk.

A dispatch from Harbin, dated July 10, announced that General Horvath, Vice President of the Chinese Eastern Railway, had proclaimed himself Premier of a Temporary Siberian Government. This Government intends to act in complete accord with the Allies and repeal all Bolshevik decrees. It would renew all allied treaties, re-establish a disciplined and nonpolitical army, and restore property. General Horvath pronounced himself in favor of religious freedom and autonomy for Siberia. He appointed a Temporary War Cabinet for Siberia.

In the first half of July important developments took place in the Murman region, in Northern Russia. The move-



MAP OF MURMAN-PETROGRAD RAILWAY, SHOWING KOLA AND KEM,
NOW OCCUPIED BY ALLIED TROOPS

ment here is directed both against the Bolsheviks and against German-Finnish encroachment. Its object is to defeat the German plan to occupy the Murman ice-free ports and establish submarine bases on the Arctic. It also aims to prevent the Germans from seizing the strategic points along the Murman Railway, and from taking Vologda and thus isolating Petrograd from Siberia.

Finnish-German forces made their first attack on the Murman Railway early in April. The Allies intervened by sending an Anglo-French detachment to reinforce the Russian Red Guards who faced the Finns at Kem. Complete harmony seems to have existed at that time between the local Soviet and the allied expeditionary force, and the defense of the coast and the railway was intrusted to

the leadership of a committee consisting of a Russian, a Britisher, and a Frenchman. In June the Finns and Germans resumed their advance toward the Murman Railway, aiming at the important stations of Kem and Kandalaksha. According to a Washington dispatch of July 2 the Finno-Germans completed a railroad to Kem. The same dispatch reported that 35,000 or 40,000 Finnish-German troops were concentrating around Vyborg, and that submarines were already supposed to be in the White Sea. The next day the Finnish-German campaign against the Murman region was reported to have begun.

In view of these developments, the Allies landed a number of troops on the Murman coast, to reinforce the detachments—including American marines—



MAP OF THE MURMAN COAST AND RAILWAY TERMINAL, SHOWING RUSSIA'S ONLY WINTER PORT AVAILABLE FOR ALLIES

which guarded the supplies at Kola. According to a dispatch of July 9, munitions from the United States had already arrived at the Murman terminal. It was announced on July 7 that the entire population of the Murman coast had seceded from Russia and joined the Entente Allies. Because of the opposition of the Soviet Government to the allied landing and its willingness to trade the region to the Finns, the local population had decided to appeal for protection to the Allies. The anti-German population of Northern Finland also appealed to the Allies. It is noteworthy that since the revolution the Murman population has received its food supplies from America and the other allies.

As a reply to the landing of allied troops on the Murman coast the Soviet War Commissary for the Northern District called into service the peasants and workmen of the classes of 1896-97 and issued orders for immediate military preparations. Three hundred Serbian and Italian officers were arrested at Archangel by the Bolsheviks.

WHY PORT IS ICE-FREE

The strategic as well as economic importance for Great Russia of the Murman ice-free port and its railway can hardly be exaggerated. The term "Murman coast" applies, strictly speaking, to the section of the arctic shore stretching between the Russo-Norwegian frontier, at the mouth of the River Voryema, to Cape Svyatoy, on the White Sea, a distance of 252 sea miles. "Murman" is a corruption of "Norman," i. e., Norwegian. The Island of Kildin lies between the Western and Eastern Murman, which is also known as the Russian coast. The western part of the coast is a succession of bare cliffs broken by long, easily accessible, fjordlike inlets, such as Varanger, Motovsky, the Gulf of Kola, with several harbors, Teribersky, and others. A branch of the Gulf Stream laves the coast and keeps the sea and the gulfs free from ice all year around, while the White Sea further south is icebound for more than six months of the year. Only the innermost points of the inlets extend-

ing far into the mainland freeze during the Winter. Polar icebergs never reach Western Murman.

The region, which is a part of the Government of Archangel, is both ethnically and historically Russian. It was colonized by the ancient Novgorodians, and the present aboriginal inhabitants of it are descendants of that sturdy and intelligent race. The town of Kola, on the shores of the Kola Bay, is first mentioned in the Russian annals under the year 1264, and there is an ancient Russian monastery near Pechenga Bay.

IMPORTANCE OF PORT

The idea of developing a port on the ice-free Murman coast and connecting it by a railway with the interior of the country is not a new one. The project of constructing a railroad to Kola was under official consideration as early as 1894. With the outbreak of hostilities the construction of the railroad became a matter of the highest military importance. It must be recalled that with the closing of the ports of the Baltic and the Black and Azov Seas Russia lost six-sevenths of all its imports. Russia had to find a new line of communication with the Allies. The Murman coast furnished it. On Jan. 1, 1915, the construction of the railroad was authorized by the Emperor. The necessary surveying was done in the Winter of 1914-15, and the actual construction was practically completed by November, 1916, in spite of the handicaps of a roadless, swampy, uninhabited region, a severe climate, and the frightful incompetence and corruption of the bureaucratic administration.

The railroad, which is about 1,000 kilometers long, runs from Petrozavodsk to the little port of Kem, on the White Sea. Then it becomes a coast railway and reaches Kandalaksha, also on the White Sea. Thence the railroad cuts the practically virgin region of the Kola Peninsula on its way to the Port of Kola. There is an extension from Kola to the town of Romanov, on the eastern shore of the inlet, and to Murmansk, on its western shore. The harbor of Murmansk, known as the Yekaterina Haven, is a part of the Kola inlet, and is situated

at its mouth. It is described as a large flask-shaped bay, protected from storms, free from ice throughout the year, deep, and accessible even to large oceangoing craft. Murmansk, the terminal station, has grown up for the last two or three years from a collection of barracks into a town with a tatterdemalion population of 6,000. The town is reported to be a workmen's commune, without shops and hotels, governed by seven autonomous councils.

A ship from an English port will reach Murmansk sooner than Petrograd. Besides, it will have the advantage of traveling all the while on the high seas. The journey from New York to the Murman coast is twenty-four hours shorter than that from New York to Libau.

CHIEF ENGINEER'S VIEW

V. Goryachevsky, Chief Engineer of the Murman Railroad System, is responsible for the following estimate of its carrying capacity: "At the present time, provided as it is with stations, water supplies, dwellings, and materials, the Murman Railway, once furnished with the necessary rolling stock, can easily carry 3,500 tons of supplies per day, while the port of Murmansk, with its piers, cranes, and tracks, is equipped to receive the same amount of tonnage daily." Mr. Goryachevsky has the following to say about the attitude of the inhabitants of the region penetrated by the new railroad toward the Allies:

They could never forget how much they owed to the Allies. After the Soviet Government came into power and communications were demoralized the Murman population was completely isolated. The Bolsheviks ignored us entirely, and we faced terrible misery and privation until I appealed to America for help. Within a month's time America sent three vessels full of provisions, and my workmen were eating American biscuits and American meat and smoking American tobacco. In that way the Russians in the Murman have come to look upon America and the Allies as a source of help and food, and that's why they look forward eagerly to the day when an allied force shall step on Russian soil and deliver their country from the Germans on the one hand and the demoralizing Bolsheviks on the other.

When the Murman Railroad became

a reality, Russian economists compared its construction to the building of the transcontinental American railways. The new railroad, even in its present undeveloped form, is bound to open up the resources of a region of 74,000 square miles which is rich in forests and ores and which has a practically inexhaustible wealth of fish. It is estimated that the herring which could be caught on the Murman coast would supply the entire internal Russian market. An impulse will also be given to the colonization of the Russian Canada, as the Governments of Archangel and Volgda have been called, for the territory penetrated by the Murman Railroad has only an average of two men to a square mile. At this moment, however, it is the strategic value of the railroad that counts. The Murman port, with its railway, is invaluable to the Allies as a line of communication with Great Russia. During the coming Winter it will be Russia's only open seaport in Europe. It is believed, therefore, that Germany will make every effort to deprive the Allies of this avenue of approach.

ASSASSINATION OF MIRBACH

On July 6 General Count von Mirbach, German Ambassador to Russia, was assassinated in Moscow. The next day Lenine sent the following communication to M. Joffe, Russian Minister in Berlin:

Two unknown men entered the German Embassy at 2 o'clock this (Saturday) afternoon, having documents from a special committee. They threw a bomb in Count von Mirbach's office, wounding him so severely that he died.

Representatives of the Government immediately visited the embassy and expressed indignation at the act, which they considered as a political manoeuvre to provoke trouble. The Government is taking every measure to discover the murderers and bring them before a special revolutionary tribunal.

Extra measures have been taken to protect the German Embassy and citizens. The Government requests you to express to the German Government the Russian Government's indignation and convey its sympathy to the family of the late Count.

Two days before he was murdered von Mirbach was savagely denounced by Social Revolutionary speakers at the

All-Russian Soviet Congress in Moscow. Reports from various sources linked the assassination with the anti-Bolshevist terror alleged to have been organized by the Social Revolutionists. In his speech before the Reichstag on July 11, Imperial Chancellor von Hertling blamed the murder on the Allies, saying that they instigated the deed in order to involve Germany in a fresh war with Russia. The murder was also attributed to an underground nationalist organization.

The assassination of the German Ambassador was followed by an armed revolt against the Soviet Government in Moscow, organized by the Social Revolutionists. For a short while the Government telegraph office and a part of Moscow were in the hands of the rebels. After fierce fighting in the streets the uprising was quelled and a great many people arrested. Among those seized by the Bolsheviks were said to be Tseretelli, Chernov, Skobelev, and Savinkov, all members of the Kerensky Cabinet. On July 12 it was reported that Chernov, one of the most prominent leaders of the moderate Social Revolutionists, was marching on Moscow at the head of a peasant army. He was also reported to have emerged from obscurity as the leading spirit of a powerful anti-Bolshevist movement, inspired by a platform combining the tenets of Social Revolutionism and the principles of democratic, non-class government.

After a moment of hesitation Germany apparently decided to continue its policy of supporting Lenine's régime, in spite of the murder of her Ambassador. On July 10 the Berlin Government announced semi-officially that it did not intend to hold the Soviet Government responsible for the assassination. "The German Government and Nation," the statement added, "hope that the Russian Government and people will succeed in nipping the present revolutionary agitation in the bud." After having blamed the assassination on the Entente, von Hertling, in his speech of July 11, said:

We do not want fresh war with Russia. The present Russian Government desires peace and needs peace, and we are giving it our support in this peaceful disposition and aim. On the other hand, it is true

that political currents of very varied tendencies are circulating in the Russian Empire—movements having the most diverse aims, including the monarchist movement of the Constitutional Democrats and the movement of the Social Revolutionaries. We will not commit ourselves to any political countercurrent, but are giving careful attention to the course Russia is steering.

An Amsterdam dispatch of July 13 conveyed the impression that the anti-Bolshevist revolt in Moscow was not completely suppressed. Herr von Rosenberg, one of the German representatives at the Brest-Litovsk conference, was appointed on July 14 to succeed Count von Mirbach.

ALLIED INTERVENTION

Allied intervention in Russia, after long hesitation, became a fact about the middle of July. A dispatch from Moscow by way of Amsterdam announced on July 15 that the whole Murman coast was occupied by American and British troops. After capturing Kem, a railroad station on the White Sea, they had advanced toward Toroki. The Bolshevik authorities at that point had withdrawn to Nirok. Unofficial Washington advices indicated that the American portion of this force consisted of a small number of marines, who were co-operating with much larger units of British and French troops. All had entered the country at the express invitation of the Russians in the Murman region.

The commanders of this Entente force issued an appeal to the population for help against Germany and Finland. The Murman coast was formally declared to be Russian territory under the protection of the Entente Powers. M. Tchitcherin, the Russian Foreign Minister, addressed a note to Great Britain demanding that the British detachments on the Murman coast be re-embarked without delay. The demand was ignored.

On July 13 it had been reported that England had sent fresh troops to Siberia to assist the Czechoslovaks and the native population in their struggle against the Bolsheviks and the armed prisoners. It was also stated that the Supreme War Council at Versailles had laid before the Washington Government definite and

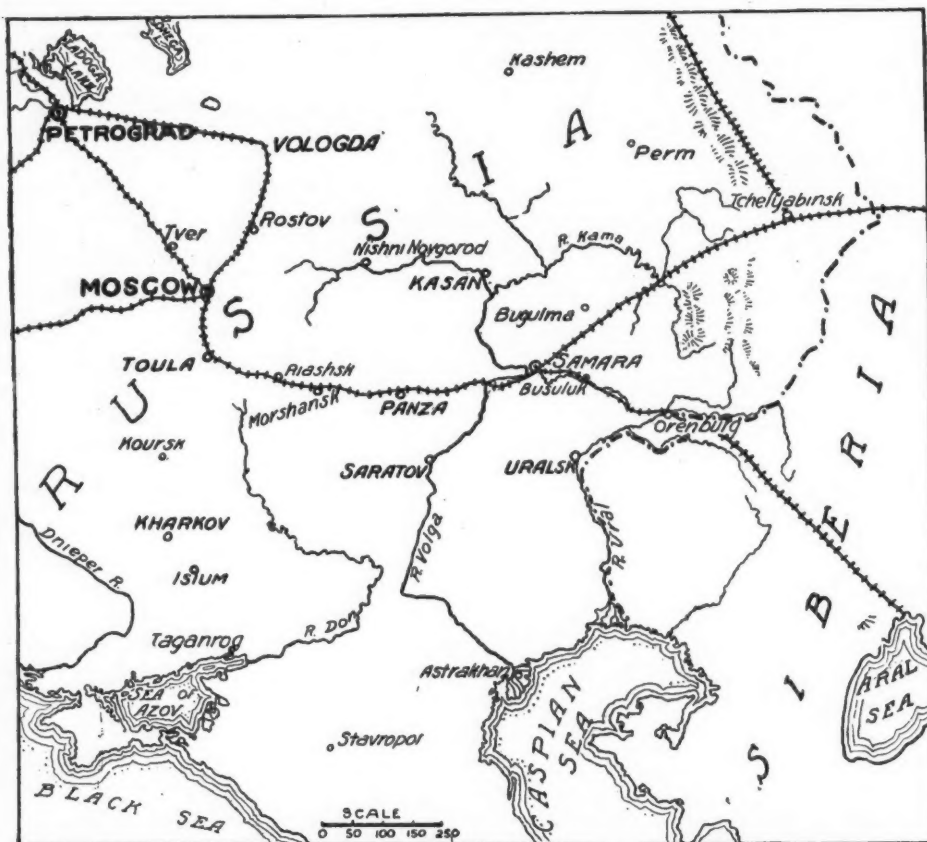
positive recommendations regarding armed military intervention in Russia.

There were no indications, however, that President Wilson had changed his attitude of favoring an informal commission of American financial and industrial experts, carrying material aid and advice and protected by ample police force. The possibility of some sort of conditional recognition by the American Government of the Soviet régime was not excluded.

CONFLICTING COUNSELS

During the month under record a great many persons and groups laid their views regarding intervention before the American Government. Professor Masaryk, head of the Czechoslovak National Council, and other well-informed men urged the dispatch of a civil mission for the purpose of educating the masses and developing the resources of the country. Others recommended armed assistance. According to Mr. Konovalov, Minister of Trade and Industry under three Provisional Governments, allied military intervention is the only logical solution of the present Russian situation. At a meeting held at Harbin, Manchuria, a group of Russian citizens, representing different social and political organizations, appealed for immediate armed aid for Russia from the Entente Allies. A similar appeal was made by a group of prominent Russians in London and by the Far Eastern Russian Committee for the Salvation of the Motherland.

Alexander Kerensky, too, admitted that without allied military aid Russia would be unable to restore her national independence. The Premier of the overthrown Provisional Government appeared unexpectedly in London on June 26 at the meeting of the Labor Conference, after having escaped from Russia via the arctic. He made a speech in which he said, among other things: "I bear witness here that the Russian people will never recognize the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, a treaty which has hurled Russia into the abyss of annihilation." On July 13 Kerensky was reported to have recommended that the allied nations should each send imme-



MAP OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA, SHOWING CHIEF POINTS WHERE BOLSHEVIKI HAVE BEEN FIGHTING CZECHOSLOVAK AND OTHER ANTI-BOLSHEVIST FORCES.

diately to Russia a small expeditionary force, but, above all, war munitions. He asserted that the various recent attempts of the Russians to overthrow the German rule had been planned while he was in Russia.

The American Administration's indecision and inaction were criticised in the Senate on July 13. "To stand aside," said Senator Borah, "while Russia is making this struggle, to offer neither aid nor counsel nor advice, is to fail in what is perhaps the uppermost task of the war."

RUSSIAN EMBASSY'S VIEW

The following review of the situation in Russia was issued by a member of the Russian Embassy at Washington:

The always-changing conditions in Russia have passed in the last few days into a new critical phase which modifies almost

entirely the whole situation. Unveiling new hopes and possibilities, the situation is at the same time pregnant with new dangers and perplexity. Two important events have happened: The Moscow revolt is being suppressed, and the valiant Czechoslovak troops are seriously threatened by combined German-Bolshevist attacks.

The fact that the uprising in Moscow, which had a distinctly national and anti-German character, is now violently crushed and thus dooms to imprisonment and humiliation those best representatives of the Russian revolutionary democracy, such as Savinkoff and Tzeretelli, gives an evident manifestation of the following factors prevailing in Russia's present conditions:

1. The elements for a national movement tending to liberation from the German grip exist in Russia and revealed themselves through the Moscow events, these elements originating directly from the peasant and popular organizations, which the Social Revolutionary and the

Social Democrat Parties undoubtedly are.

2. The apparent failure of this national movement proves once more that, no matter how sincere and genuine the anti-German feelings which inspire the national Russians, an attempt of a national character would not succeed without a friendly allied help, and this on account of the fact that the watchful eye of Germany, her propaganda and authority with the Bolshevik Government, will undoubtedly oppose and crush every attempt of that nature, which would be a real threat to Germany's successes in Russia, and if developed might be the mortal blow we here wish that Germany should receive from a regenerated Russia.

3. As to the fact which appears today beyond any doubt that Germany has a direct interest in opposing every move that could lead to an uprising of the national spirit in Russia, I would simply quote the present attitude of Germany, who has openly expressed her satisfaction and even congratulations to the Bolshevik Government for the happy suppressing of the revolt. Furthermore, Germany is even willing to pass over the murder of her Ambassador in Moscow, which under other circumstances she certainly would not have done.

MIRBACH'S DUPLICITY

But I feel that it might be timely to reveal to the American people all that we know of Count Mirbach's activities in Russia. This adroit Prussian diplomat, while entertaining the most cordial relations with the Bolshevik Government and flooding the country with fake news and deliberate misrepresentation, was simultaneously making all efforts to tempt the moderate Russian groups to accept German military help for the overthrow of the Bolsheviks. He was assuring the national Russian organizations that Germany had certainly a real interest in having in her neighborhood a moderate Government which would only agree to friendly relations with the Central Powers. Mirbach went so far as to promise an immediate reconsideration of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The Russian national groups, although not concealing their hopeless condition and growing despair from the lack of any signs of allied help and their desire to liberate their country from the Germans, yet rejected with indignation Mirbach's ignominious proposals. What happened later is known—Mirbach was assassinated.

According to recent news from the parts of Siberia and Central Russia where the Czechoslovaks have passed and have been greeted by the population as a symbol of anti-German revolt, the Soviets disappeared naturally without any bloodshed, simply through the fact that an

anti-German movement involved representative popular organizations.

Having referred to the Czechoslovaks, I have approached the second of the two above-mentioned new factors in the Russian situation—I mean the danger which is threatening these fighting units belonging to the allied armies. I did not happen to meet anybody whose mind could not be preoccupied and filled with anxiety in considering the possibility of the Germans annihilating the valiant Czechoslovak troops.

Can the Allies afford to abandon these Russian patriots? Can they afford to lose conscientiously the real friends they still have in our country, thus paralyzing the possibility of a national regeneration of Russia which we consider to become a direct result of a nonpartisan and unselfish allied help?

BOLSHEVIST CONSCRIPTION

The reply of the Soviet authorities to the attempts to overthrow their régime and to the menace of allied intervention was an effort to enforce conscription. On July 12 the Bolsheviks were reported to have raised 600,000 troops of a questionable fighting value. Leon Trotzky reported to the All-Russian Soviet Conference, on July 13, that a part of the Bolshevik force had deserted to the enemy and that the discipline of the troops had suffered from Anglo-French propaganda.

Trotzky recently began a campaign in favor of a general military conscription. The international situation was such, he argued, that the Soviet Republic needed a large and powerful army based on the principle of obligatory military service. "But if we shall not be able to produce such an army, said the bulletin of the War Commissariat, editorially, (June 20,) "then Russia will "disappear for a long time to come as "an independent country. She will "merely serve as a war theatre for other "countries, and her plains will be walked "over by hordes of Germans, English, "and Japanese, all equally foreign and "hostile to the free Russian people, who "will devastate her in their common "struggle." Trotzky thought it, however, inadvisable to extend the obligatory service to the bourgeoisie. The latter would be formed into noncombatant units, to be used for digging trenches and cleaning barracks.



MAP SHOWING THE CHIEF RAILWAYS OF RUSSIA

Late in June it was reported in the press that the Berlin Government was elaborating a plan of intervention in Russia for the purpose of restoring order in the country with the aid of the Soviet troops. Early in July a Vienna newspaper published a Moscow dispatch to the effect that "if the Japanese and English should occupy Russian territory, the Soviet Government would immediately join Germany."

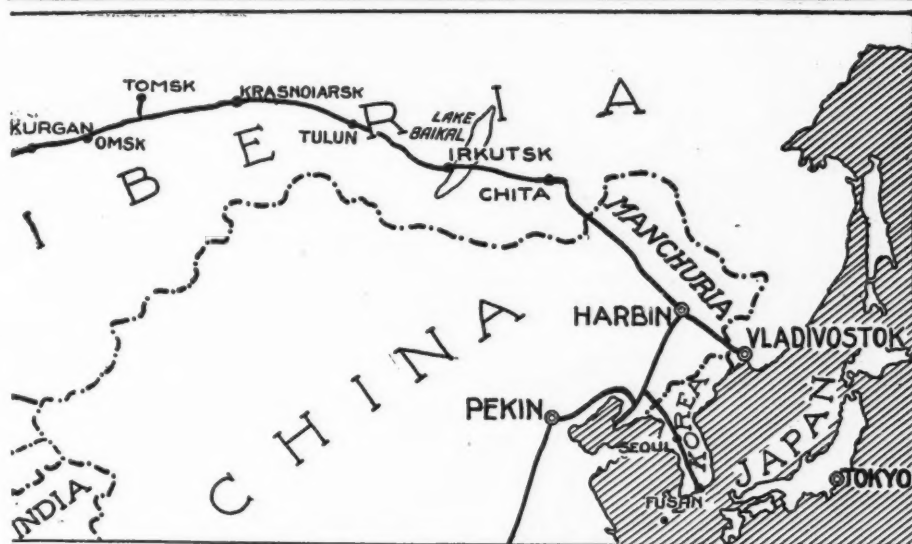
Early in June the number of Austrian and German troops on the territory of the former Russian Empire, exclusive of Finland, was estimated at 300,000, and the German troops in Finland at from 50,000 to 100,000. In July the Central Powers were said to possess in Russia thirty-two German and fifteen Austrian divisions, and one German division in Finland. In the middle of July the advanced line occupied by the Teutons ran from the Finnish Gulf to the City of Smolensk, then to the east and south, past Voronezh and Tsarytsin, and reached the Sea of Azov at Rostov. In the south the Germans were assisted by General Krasnov, who had set up a pro-German government in the Don region. In the Caucasus the Germans, resisted by the Armenians, as well as the local Bolsheviks, and aided by the Turks, were aiming at the oil region.

The Fifth All-Russian Congress of

Soviets was summoned for June 28 to consider the dangers which beset the Socialist Republic, but it did not open until July 4. The delegates numbered 678 Bolsheviks, 278 Social Revolutionaries, 30 Maximalists, and 6 Internationalists. In the middle of June the Central Executive Committee had ordered all local Soviets to expel those of their members who represented Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries of the Right and the Centre. It justified this step on the ground "that the authority of the Soviets, presiding through an extremely difficult period, is being attacked simultaneously by international imperialism and its coadjutors within the Russian Republic, who are in conflict with the Government of the workmen and peasants."

No financial reforms were carried out, and no steps taken to provide for the indirect taxation planned by Lenine. The presses were still turning out paper money at the rate of 3,000,000,000 per month, thus rapidly increasing the aggregate of 40,000,000,000 paper rubles which were in circulation in June. The Financial Department estimated the assets of the nationalized and private banks at 30,000,000,000.

The mixed commission appointed, in accordance with the Brest treaty, to consider the claims of the States, reported



AND MAIN POINTS ON THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY

on July 12 that Germany's claim for indemnity from Russia amounted to 7,000,000,000 rubles.

HUNGRY RUSSIA

In his message to the American people, made public late in June, Prince Kropotkin, the well-known Russian revolutionary thinker and leader, says that at the present moment the most urgent necessity is to save European Russia from impending starvation. He implores America to send to Russia seeds, tractors, and agricultural experts, as "a direct gift and a friendly service from nation to nation."

Recent advices convey the impression that famine is a grim actuality in Northern Russia, especially in urban regions. In the middle of June it was reported that in Petrograd men and women frequently dropped in the streets, overcome by sheer hunger. There is often no bread to distribute, the maximum allowance of black bread being two ounces, and the population of the former capital has to make shift with potatoes and desiccated vegetables. "Hungry citizens," to use the language of a Petrograd daily, "seek ravenously among offal and rubbish heaps, and lick the paste off street posters and placards." Intolerable conditions obtain also in Central Russia. Raw materials and

manufactured articles are extremely scarce. The business of providing food is the paramount preoccupation, and political indifference is prevailing among the famishing masses.

Lenine has apparently pinned his faith to the plan of combating hunger by means of making the poorer elements of the peasantry break the power of the more opulent farmers. The latter, he argued at a meeting, are the only ones to hoard the grain; once their autocracy is destroyed bread will be plentiful. In the meantime, foraging parties of armed workmen have become a regular feature of the Soviet Government. From time to time they sally into the countryside on their dangerous errand of provision hunting and bring the seized foodstuffs into the towns.

The following fragmentary data, given by the Commissariat of National Economy, furnish precise information on the decrease of the cultivated area within the limits of European Russia:

Government. — Acreage Tilled in 1918. —		
Yekaterinoslav	..38%	of Acreage Tilled in 1916
Voronezh	.....40%	" "
Kharkov	.....53%	" "
Saratov	.....28%	" "
Samara	.....30%	" "
Kazan	.....34%	" "

According to a dispatch of July 12, hundreds of persons were dying daily

in Petrograd from cholera, the disease being due to starvation. M. Zinovyev, head of the Petrograd committee representing the Council of Commissaries, said in an appeal: "Every day many hundreds of persons are falling victims to disease. It is impossible to do anything to combat the epidemic, as we are unable to furnish even a quarter of a pound of bread a day, and are forced to give herring instead of bread."

REVOLT IN UKRAINE

During the month under record the peasant revolution in the Ukraine, directed against the Germans and the régime of the German-supported Skoropadsky, was growing in force. In the middle of June a revolt began at Kiev. Forty thousand peasants were reported to be participating in the uprising. The latter spread to the Governments of Poltava and Chernigov. On June 29, 75,000 Ukrainian peasants, well armed and well officered, were said to be advancing against the Germans in Kiev, the total number of the revolted peasants being 200,000. At the village of Krinichki, Government of Yekaterinoslav, a pitched battle took place between the peasant troops and the Germans, in which the Germans lost 1,000 men, twice as many as the Ukrainians. The Germans in the Ukraine were reported to be requesting reinforcements.

Dispatches received in Stockholm on July 11 conveyed the impression that the whole of the Ukraine was aflame with revolution. The peasants were reported to have a number of small armies numbering 15,000 to 20,000 men each and well armed with artillery and machine guns, and equipped for trench warfare. The German reinforcements rushed to the country were estimated at thirty-five divisions, (420,000 men.)

RUSSO-UKRAINIAN PEACE

On June 12 a truce was signed by Russian and Ukrainian delegates at Kiev. The following is a summary of its provisions:

Military activities along the entire front are stopped during the period of peace negotiations. Nationals of the contract-

ing parties are allowed to return to their respective States with their property, with the exception of merchandise, interest-bearing papers, and valuables. Cash to be taken is limited to 10,000 rubles for the head of the family and 2,000 rubles for each member, with a maximum of 20,000 for the family. An additional 80,000 rubles may be transferred if resulting from the sale of property. Both contracting parties have the right to limit and stop the import and export of foreign currency.

A commission of representatives of both States will be formed to transfer gradually from Russia to Ukraine railway rolling stock taken from the Ukraine. Postal, telegraphic, and passenger communication will be re-established simultaneously with the fulfillment of the other provisions of this paragraph.

Both States, on a basis of reciprocity, will establish their representative commissaries and Consuls for Russia and the Ukraine. The Red Cross societies shall facilitate the journey to their respective States of prisoners of war who are citizens of either State. A committee shall be formed within one week to regulate requests for and exchange of merchandise.

Both States shall immediately consider terms of peace.

On June 28 the Russo-Ukrainian Peace Commission reached an agreement regarding frontier boundaries. It was decided to base the delimitation on the ethnic principle, taking also into consideration the various interests of the two peoples.

FINLAND UNDER GERMANY

Early in July it was rumored that Finland was about to declare war on the Entente Allies. The Finnish Government, however, denied this intention. In a recent conference with Minister Morris at Stockholm, General Mannerheim, the former commander of the Finnish White Guard, admitted that German influence had come to stay in Finland. He added that he was biding the time when he could rally the Finnish patriots for the task of overthrowing the German rule.

In a recent speech in the Reichstag Hugo Haase, leader of the German Minority Socialists, asserted that since the Germans entered Finland 73,000 workmen had been arrested there and many of them executed. He said, in effect: "The list of those sentenced to

"death in Finland contains the names of a former Premier and fifty Socialists, members of Parliament, some of whom already have been shot. Owing to the numerous daily executions the town of Sveaborg has been renamed 'Golgotha.'" The Finnish Senate decided to expel the Jews from Finland on the ground that they financed the Red Guards.

The Finnish Constitutional Committee adopted by 16 votes against 15 the monarchical form of government for Finland, and the new Constitution is being shaped along monarchical lines. Finland will have a monarchy strongly limited by a Parliament.

On July 11 the Bolshevik Government agreed to enter into peace negotiations with Finland.

The American Minister to Sweden sent to President Wilson a copy of the protest, issued by the Estonian Diet and Government, denouncing Germany's occupational methods in Estonia. The document asserts that Germany is "plundering the country, seizing foodstuffs to such extent that the native population is left to starve, while German sol-

diers are permitted daily to send double rations to Germans." The protest points out the following facts:

Despite the assurances of Count von Hertling, the German Imperial Chancellor, and the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, Germany has established a military dictatorship in Estonia. Before the entrance of German troops Estonian troops had re-established order in most districts, but the Germans disarmed these troops, suspended the Government, removed the administrative organs in the towns and country, took all the functions into their own hands, and created advisory committees composed of German residents who do not form more than 2 per cent. of the population.

German has been introduced as the official language, although it is not understood by 90 per cent. of the people. The German language also has been introduced into the schools, while the Dorpat University has been Germanized.

By means of unscrupulous penalties consisting of heavy fines, penal servitude, and shootings after trial by court-martial the Germans have suppressed free speech and political activity. Those newspapers which have been allowed to continue publication have been compelled to publish pro-German propaganda. Prominent Estonians who modestly protested against the oppression have been arrested.

Summary of the Russian Situation

By HAROLD WILLIAMS

[Mr. Williams, a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, after living many months in Russia, wrote this clear summary of the situation on July 15, 1918]

RUSSIA is helping herself in finding a way out of the labyrinth by very curious and wonderful ways of her own. Bolshevism is a mood. That mood, having wrought intolerable confusion and disaster, is now passing, and Russia, more recognizable, more intelligible to the Allies, is beginning to take shape. It is as if that amazing country were determined to demonstrate that the help which the Allies have been planning to give her will be given in vain.

Those who have pleaded for military aid to Russia have always argued that once a rallying point were given the active forces of the nation would begin to gather and assert themselves. By a strange fortuity that rallying point has

appeared from within in the shape of the Czechoslovak force. The Czechoslovaks are not Russians, but a kindred people. The Czechs are the Slav inhabitants of Bohemia and the Slovaks are men of the same stock, speaking practically the same language, who inhabit the mountainous northwestern part of Hungary, just on the fringe of Bohemia.

For a century this people, which in brighter days gave to the world John Huss, has been struggling to free itself from the grip of the Germans and Hungarians. The great opportunity came in the present war. Czech and Slovak soldiers of the Austrian Army surrendered in thousands to the Russians, not to save their lives but to spend them in fighting

on the side of the Allies against their German and Hungarian oppressors and for the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak State in the heart of Europe.

The Russian Government formed them into an army corps, and these sturdy fighters distinguished themselves nobly in the last offensive of the Russian Army. They remained at the front as long as there was a front, and when the Russian Army ceased fighting they were withdrawn to Kiev. After the Bolshevik revolution and the Brest-Litovsk peace they maintained strict neutrality in internal Russian disputes and shut their ears to calls from either side. Their one desire was to fight the Germans and demonstrate their right to independence.

Then in May they began to move eastward in the hope of somehow, some time, getting out of Russia and taking their places on the western front. They were weary of the Russian turmoil, and wanted to fight. The Bolsheviks did a very foolish thing. They tried to check their passage eastward and to disarm them.

The Czechoslovaks were compelled to fight the Bolsheviks. They struck hard, so that the ill-disciplined, ill-trained regiments of the Red Army, which had never calculated on serious fighting, fled before them. In a marvelously short time the Czechoslovaks, who were quickly reinforced by lurking and scattered Russian antagonists of the Bolsheviks, rescued control of several towns on the Volga and in the Urals and of nearly the whole of the Siberian Railway.

The Bolshevik Commander in Chief, a plucky adventurer called Muravieff, finding it impossible to suppress the Czechoslovak movement, thought that the moment was opportune to turn on his masters, but his Red Army would not follow him, and he shot himself.

Dutov, the Ural Cossack leader, and apparently General Alexieff and his force have linked up with the Czechoslovaks, and the main body of the Social Revolutionaries, with the Committee of the Constituent Assembly, is in the movement. The Czechoslovaks have seized the old Tartar city of Kazan, the key to the Lower Volga. Success suc-

ceeds, and once the strong spell of the Bolshevik power is broken a general defection may be anticipated.

While this movement was growing in the east, while starvation, disease, and unemployment made rapid headway in the towns, and chaotic, quarrelsome landgrabbing was the rule of life in the villages, a remarkable thing happened in Moscow. Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador, was murdered in Moscow, and the murderers were not so-called counter-revolutionaries, but men who until recently were the closest allies of the Bolsheviks! The Jew Blumkin and the Russian Alexandrovich, who killed Count Mirbach, were Left Social Revolutionaries, members of that extreme faction which split off from the main Kerensky-Tchernoff section of the Social Revolutionaries and joined heart and soul in the Bolshevik campaign.

For several months after last November there was no essential difference between them and the Bolsheviks. Being primarily a peasant party, they brought peasant Soviets by strange manipulating into the Bolshevik movement. They induced Lenine, a Marxist, to accept their agrarian program. Several of their leaders held portfolios in the Bolshevik Government. Members of the party were active in all committees and Soviets, but they began to part company with the Bolsheviks over the Brest-Litovsk peace.

They were the authors of the famous formula proclaimed by Trotsky, "No peace and no war," and after the conclusion of that peace their Commissaries resigned from the Government and attempted to organize what they called a revolutionary war against all imperialism.

The break was not serious at first, but it has been steadily growing. The Left Social Revolutionaries mock at Lenine's theory of a peaceful interval for social reform. Their ideal is one perpetual and highly romantic revolution, and they like the Allies no better than they like the Germans. Amid all the strange and heterogeneous movements Russia is trying to find herself.

Russia's Constituent Assembly

An Eyewitness's Story of the Seventeen Fateful Hours That Started the Nation Toward Ruin

By LUDOVIC NAUDEAU

M. Naudeau, the author of this word picture of a historic episode, was sent to Petrograd as a special correspondent of the Paris Temps during the Kerensky régime, and remained through the Bolshevik upheaval, always a keen observer of men and events. In this article he describes the single session of the Constituent Assembly, which the Provisional Government had called, and which the Lenine Government disbanded by force, thus deliberately departing from the road that led toward constitutional liberty. Mr. Kerensky, speaking before the French Chamber of Deputies on July 5, denounced the Bolshevik policy and displayed a copy of a protest voted on May 18, 1918, at a secret meeting of the Russian Constituent Assembly, against the Brest-Litovsk treaty, declaring that Russia was still at war with Germany.

ANY one entering the hall of the Tauride Palace in Petrograd at 5:30 P. M. on Jan. 18, 1918, would have seen the 425 members of the Constituent Assembly standing while they sang the "Internationale" with imperturbable gravity, and would not have doubted that an ardent spirit of fraternity and lofty idealism, like a warm fluid, was uniting all hearts. This illusion, however, would not have survived an instant of close observation. Up to the very base of the tribune, in fact, compact groups of armed men were to be seen: sailors with fixed eyes and clenched jaws, who never ceased to cast looks of distrust and rancor at the majority of the delegates; Red Guards, who had been made to believe that the cunning resistance of the bourgeoisie and the traitorous opposition of the false Socialists, calling themselves the Social Revolutionary Party, would be the sole obstacle to the immediate realization of that universal happiness which the Bolsheviks were announcing to the people.

Is it necessary to believe that these men, bristling with arms, were all wicked? Not at all. Most of these sailors and Red Guards seemed to me rather to be weak dreamers. They evidently believed that it would truly be for the public good to annihilate the wretches, the monsters, the "hyenas of capital," who were hindering the birth of the blessed epoch in which all human

beings, reconciled, were to receive their equal share of happiness. I carefully studied a little sailor near me whose hair almost joined his eyebrows, and whose prominent, rosy cheeks inclosed the narrow wicket through which filtered, sharp, shining and fixed, a look full of both innocence and hatred. This fanatic, convinced that he was the depository of truth, the instrument of justice, certainly was thinking that he would be doing a most meritorious work if he were to destroy a few of these "minions of capital," these tools of the exploiters, who, having deceived most of their constituents, here formed the majority of the assembly. In like manner all these armed men appeared determined to use their weapons against the members of the traitorous majority if the minority members gave them the faintest sign.

WILD STREET SCENES

Besides, how could any one who found himself in the Tauride Palace during those memorable hours have failed to realize the danger when an intermittent fusillade was still crackling in the adjacent streets of the Shpalernaia? Many of the Deputies, on their way to the hall, had heard, before the hisses of the Maximalists in the assembly, those of the bullets in the cold air. More than one had looked upon stark bodies and red pools in the snow, and had seen wild-eyed ruffians ready to make new victims.

Twice in the tramway car I had been compelled to crouch, pell-mell with the other passengers, on the floor of the vehicle, because death was screaming in the wind.

And yet what more peaceful, more in-offensive, more sanely democratic, more fraternal, than those great processions which, in the morning, from different parts of the capital, had marched forth to range themselves in front of the Tauride Palace in order to celebrate the opening of the Constituent Assembly? From the first hours of the day I had seen these processions passing, and had followed several of them; they contained, behind their brass bands and under their immense scarlet banners, thousands of workmen, employes, students, minor functionaries, soldiers without arms; countless women, young girls, even children. Not a rifle, not a sabre, not a revolver in any hand. But the Maximalist devotees had persuaded their followers that these demonstrations were counter-revolutionary in character. Behind these marchers they affected to see the sinister shadow of Korniloff, of Kerensky, of Kaledine, of the Cadet Party, of the bankers and all the ignoble "bourgeois."

From that time forth the guardians of the revolution decided that these processions should not reach the palace, but should be stopped by persuasion or by force. And this is how it came about that as these defenseless crowds advanced, singing revolutionary hymns, they were suddenly assailed with fusillades in different parts of the city. Desperadoes posted on certain roofs, like the police, the Pharaohs of the old régime, fired into the densest crowds. Elsewhere machine guns barked, hurling hailstorms of bullets. Infantrymen, coming out of their barracks, deployed across a main street and fired a volley into the disarmed citizens. A Sister of Charity, who, on her knees in the snow, was imploring these wretches not to murder their brothers, was killed at the muzzle of a rifle by a furious madman.

The "conquerors" of this lamentable day boasted afterward that the processions had been quickly dispersed. I bear witness, however, having seen it with my

own eyes, that several of these columns of unarmed and inoffensive marchers gave proof of astonishing stoicism, keeping their ranks and even continuing their march despite the volleys, and retiring at last only before the most immediate vision of death.

OPENING THE CONVENTION

At 4 o'clock, the hour when the session is supposed to begin, the great quadrangular hall still seems half empty. Half the delegates either have not been able to reach Petrograd from their distant homes or have not even been chosen as yet. Nevertheless, some things are noticeable: the Cadet Party, which should occupy about fifteen seats on the right of the hall, is totally absent; this is explained by the fact that most of its members have been arrested or are in flight. The whole centre and left belong to the Social Revolutionary Party, whose chiefs are being pointed out with the finger, and whose numerical superiority at once strikes the eye.

Among those elected, as elsewhere throughout the hall, there is a considerable proportion of soldiers, with some sailors and a few women, whose presence arouses no curiosity. Finally, on the extreme left, crowded one against another like troops for a battle, the Bolsheviks and the radical wing of the Social Revolutionaries form a veritable phalanx ready for the offensive and the resort to force; its members are in sarcastic attitudes, while, on the contrary, the Social Revolutionaries in the centre of the hall are grave, silent, a little pale, with a sad look upon their faces.

But suddenly a frightful outcry arises on the extreme left. It is a savage clamor in which catcalls are mingled. At the same time, while the Bolsheviks are still shaking their fists in the direction of the tribune, there come from the galleries, where the "public" is massed, yells that make one shudder. Finally on both sides of the tribune the sailors and Red Guards break into curses and scarcely restrain gestures of menace. What has happened?

An old man with a large gray beard, Schvetsov, has appeared with great dig-

RUSSIANS OF THE HOUR



Dr. G. V. Lomonosoff
*Head of Russian Railway Mission to
 the United States*
 (© Harris & Ewing)



Pavel Petrovitch Skoropadski
Dictator of the Ukraine



Vladimir Burtseff
*Publicist and opponent of the
 Bolsheviks*



General Horvath
*Director of the anti-Bolshevist forces
 in Siberia*

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK



Chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities

nity in the Presidential chair. He is the dean by virtue of age, a Social Revolutionary, who, at the invitation of one of his colleagues, and without waiting longer for the good-will of the Commissaries, is trying to declare the first session open. This audacity has exasperated the Bolsheviks; they break into imprecations. They rage and hiss while Schvetzov, trying in vain to make his voice heard, persists in ringing the bell. But all at once, as if delivered from an insupportable nightmare, the same men utter a long sigh of relief, ending in joyous cries of acclamation. The bell no longer tinkles in profane hands; the sacrilege is ended; a little dry man, Sverdlov, has leaped to the Presidential chair, and has torn the little bronze bell from the hands of old Schvetzov, whose troubled eyes fill with tears.

THE RULE OF FORCE

What can the assembly do against such an outrage? It is in a circle of bayonets; some of the armed men posted by the Commissaries even carry bombs at their belts. The majority of the delegates elected by universal suffrage must, therefore, suffer the violence that is being perpetrated. The minority, made bold by its complicity with the most ignorant, credulous, brutal, and irresponsible elements of the nation, sets itself up as a sort of dictatorial Government which forbids the majority to oppose it.

The unspeakable Sverdlov reads a long screed, a sort of ultimatum, the purport of which is that the Constituent Assembly must recognize as a dogma the supremacy of the Soviets; it must also confirm at the outset all their decrees; approve without reserve all their acts and recognize implicitly as to itself that it was elected under imperfect conditions, so that the idea it is supposed to represent is now only a "distorted image of the people's will."

This lecture, which the majority hears in impassive silence, is welcomed with the joyous cries and demonstrations through which the Bolsheviks exhibit their satisfaction. The latter, moreover, undertake to force the Social Revolution-

aries to applaud certain passages of the screed. By signs they intimate to their adversaries that they ought to show approbation. Thus, when Sverdlov reads the passage relating to the nationalization of lands without remuneration to the owners, as the Socialist majority remains imperturbable, the Maximalist minority cries: "It's shameful! They don't applaud. Therefore they are for *indemnity!*"

This subterfuge represents the tactics of the Bolsheviks completely: pretending to forget that they have merely assimilated and applied the agrarian program of the Social Revolutionary Party, formulated several years ago, they are trying to persuade the credulous populace that they alone are sincere revolutionists. And it is with the same ulterior motive that they suddenly propose the singing of the "Internationale" at 5 o'clock. Everybody rises, a momentary truce is established; it is the scene that I described at the beginning of this article: voices unite, even if hearts remain separated by irreconcilable hatreds, and on one can tell the populace that the Social Revolutionaries, sold to the hyenas of capital, have refused to sing the hymn of the revolution.

COMMITTEE OF TYRANTS

So this Constituent Assembly, dreamed of for a whole century, as seen in the radiant perspective of the future; this assembly, for which the revolutionists of 1917 prepared the way with filial piety, and which was fully expected to put an end to the calamities from which Russia is suffering; this assembly, whose beloved name had shone upon the scarlet banners of all the Socialist Parties since the overthrow of Nicholas II., behold it here, gasping before our eyes like a martyr on the cross, given over helplessly to the abominable sabotage of a band of schemers who have spread the belief that they are the only democrats, the indispensable guardians of justice and truth.

What we see before us in this Constituent Assembly is a minority seizing control as a committee of tyrants. In the name of whom or what? In the

name of the dictatorship of a proletariat that is much too ignorant, in reality, to dictate anything at all. The Bolsheviks, by a revelation from heaven, no doubt, have assumed the monopoly of this dictatorship for themselves. Their postulate is simple: They alone think right. The people who elected them as Deputies are the only people in whose name it is proper to dictate. As for the other constituencies, much larger, who have given a strong majority to the Social Revolutionaries, these are false constituencies, fools, imbeciles, and the best service that can be done to them is to pay no attention to what they want.

If the Social Revolutionary Party, however, opposes to the invectives of the Maximalists and the pressure of bayonets a force of inertia devoid of pomp, it nevertheless has its tactics; it knows well how, in spite of all, to enjoy its prerogatives as a majority. Thus for the first time it gives itself up to a noisy demonstration and a long salvo of applause when its candidate, Tchernov, is proclaimed President by 244 votes against 151 for Mme. Spiridonova, who had been proposed by the extreme radical wing. During this time the Deputies of that faction keep scornful silence, but the galleries howl and the soldiers in the hall finger their guns nervously. To these simple souls it is clear that a monstrous attack has just been made against the majesty of the people, and that this defiance, hurled by the minions of capital, will justify an immediate prosecution of the crime.

TCHERNOV'S POWER

Meanwhile Tchernov appears in the Presidential chair. He is a little, stocky man, with a short, bulging chest, from which comes a voice of thunder, an extraordinary advantage, which permits the leader of the Social Revolutionaries to make himself heard in spite of all the tumult. Tchernov delivers an address of incontestable ability, first depicting in pathetic terms the devastating horrors of the war, then recalling his own part in the first Zimmerwald Conference, a topic thanks to which he succeeds in holding the attention of the

tyrannical minority. Tchernov excels in presenting the program of the majority, which he represents, and in exposing, by light allusions and indirect statements, the inanity of the Maximalist formulas. To the sarcasms and invectives of the Extreme Left he opposes only the ever-increasing volume of his formidable voice; he dares to recall the defeat of the attempt at separate negotiations, "in which German imperialism unmasked all its aggressive greed."

PRELIMINARY BATTLE

The atmosphere is that of battle. Summoned unexpectedly to declare whether or not he recognizes the supremacy of the Soviets, Tchernov parries and thrusts nimbly by declaring that until very recently the Soviets themselves have had for their principal article of faith the necessity of endowing a Constituent Assembly with national sovereignty as soon as possible, and that, when this has been done, the present assembly, regularly elected by the majority of the people, need fear no injury.

This mode of escape raises furious cries among the radicals and long applause among the Social Revolutionaries. But Tchernov has more than one trick in his bag. He takes the offensive, for he ends by proposing that the Deputies shall all rise and salute the memory of the many heroes who have recently given their lives for this Constituent Assembly. Disconcerted, the radicals cannot refuse to take part in this manifestation. Scarcely are the delegates seated again when Tchernov aims another blow at the dictatorial minority by proposing that everybody rise once more to render homage to the heroic soldiers, martyrs, who still remain at the front, and thanks to whose devotion this assembly is able to meet at Petrograd.

This motion rouses unheard-of fury on the Extreme Left; the galleries emit an avalanche of insult; the Maximalists rise to their feet; it is evident that the subtle oratorical fencing of Tchernov exasperates them, because it seems to them to be full of irony aimed at the dictatorship which they have usurped. One of

them thinks to do a masterstroke by proposing that the assembly shall in like manner salute the victims of the November revolution, that is, of the uprising that gave power to their class. Naturally the majority cannot obey such an injunction; they do not rise. The galleries raise an outcry. Some one shouts that the Social Revolutionaries are knaves and traitors; the Maximalist Deputies shake their fists at them, and at the base of the tribune the armed guards are moving about in a disquieting manner.

The situation of Tchernov in the Presidential chair during those tragic hours fairly symbolizes the power held by all those whose duty it was to rule Russia in 1917. Why did none of those men perform any act of energy? Ask Tchernov today, Tchernov, vilified, ill-treated, why he limited himself to opposing timid observations and persuasions to the cries and hisses from the galleries. Yet there was one moment, before the cynical meddling of outsiders, when he showed anger, forgot the enmities that encircled him, and declared that he might be obliged to compel the respect due the assembly by expelling all those who disturbed its deliberations. But then, on the extreme left, a pale little man in flashy clothes and a straggling, tow-colored beard, cried with a jeer: "Try it, then! Don't forget that the time is past when you and your class can take liberties!"

The man who thus jeers and threatens is the supreme commander of the Russian armies—"Generalissimo" Krylenko, the intrepid hero of the armistice! Frenzied applause greets the sally of the proletariat's cherished son, President Tchernov casts a look of distress and discouragement over the delirious humanity before him, and foreigners witnessing the scene shudder.

NO REAL ISSUE

The extraordinary thing is that only microscopic shades—questions of tactics rather than of political programs—separate the two Socialistic factions, the more numerous of which here finds itself oppressed by the less numerous

simply because the latter can count on the support of a few thousand sailors and armed workmen. Citizen Tchernov is a famous veteran in revolutionary fighting, a specialist of long standing upon matters of agrarian reform; he has advocated giving the lands to the peasants; he has just reminded the convention that he is an old Zimmerwaldian. But it no longer suffices to think with the People's Commissaries if one does not use the formulas of the commissaries.

In the same way, in the street, it is no longer the imperial police who machine-gun the crowd; it is the people who are assassinating the people. Armed Socialists are killing other Socialists who have no arms; factory workmen called Red Guards are shooting other factory workmen called reactionaries. All these Red Guards, all these sailors who are firing their rifles and machine guns into processions of common people and of soldiers who desire peacefully, with empty hands, to acclaim the Constituent Assembly; all these wretched murderers, all these half-crazed men running amuck, are twin brothers of their victims. This civil war, this persecution of the people by the people, is the result of the party propaganda of the Smolny Institute, and this propaganda recalls the sinister reprisals inflicted upon each other by devotees of one and the same creed when they are divided by subtle questions of casuistry.

CLIMAX OF EXCITEMENT

But we are still far from having seen the chief paroxysm of this stirring day. The frenzy is increased every moment by the speeches of several Maximalists, who are proclaiming the necessity of civil war as a divine remedy for all the ills from which the people are suffering. These men, whose teachings have wiped out the Russian Army, who have thrown Russia weaponless and writhing beneath the heel of the conqueror, are now making thunders of war, and their maledictions against their compatriots are accompanied by an incessant rattling of bayonets. These capitulants have only one desire: to create fear!

A tempest of howls, a sort of blind rage fills the hall; the "public" posted in the tribunes utters cries of hate, and some persons get the impression that the hired assassins of the dictators are going to use their arms. What, then, is happening? Some outrageous defiance must have been hurled at the assembly, and some minion of the old monarchy must have dared to show his face in the hall. This time the fury of the "true" Socialists seems to be of the first water, some unpardonable affront has been offered to the popular majesty. Here is the fact:

A man who was long in prison for having tried to defend the cause of the proletariat, a man whose life has been a model of self-abnegation, rectitude, and disinterestedness, a man who may fairly be regarded as the noblest figure of this revolution as well as one of its principal creators, this man, Tseretelli, has dared to appear on the platform. Never have I contemplated a spectacle of more atrocious irony than that of Tseretelli, pale, but impassive under that storm of objurgations. To have spent his whole life serving the proletariat, to have been the implacable adversary of Stolypin during the famous sessions of the Second Duma, to have been dragged from prison to prison, from exile to exile, to have contracted tuberculosis in that life of suffering to which the events of 1917 alone were to bring an end, and all this only to be howled off the platform of the Constituent Assembly as an *enemy of the people*, a traitor, a wretch who had sold himself! Men whose hands are still perhaps red with lynchings, with "executions" committed the night before on the public highway, are furiously reproaching Tseretelli with being a partisan of the death penalty, that same reproach which, in September, at the time of the national conference in the Alexandra Theatre, made Kerensky grow pale and hesitate before our eyes.

TSERETELLI AT BAY

Let us remember: In May the Socialist Ministers of that epoch, the Tseretellis, the Tchernovs, the Skobelevs, wished to show themselves liberal and

generous; in the name of liberty of thought they refused to have Lenine arrested. When this man was suspected by the majority of the population they spared him, protected him, covered him, defended him. What a terrible object lesson! In the name of liberty they wished to allow the circulation, without constraint, of the propaganda of men who had only one object—to overthrow liberty and install the tyranny of ignorance and brutality. Here in this convention we see the result—listen to those howls and invectives branding the *enemy of the people!*

For a long time, while Tchernov tries in vain to restore a little calm, Tseretelli remains motionless in the tribune, casting a look of sorrow and pity upon that sea of faces in delirium, whose rage is implacably bent on destroying the work created through so many sufferings. But from this depression, from this oppression, the thought of the orator suddenly frees itself in inspired phrases; his love for the people, his fear of seeing the first fragile fruits of the revolution compromised, is expressed in words so pure that the raging monsters calm themselves one after the other, and end by finding themselves under the domination of the tribune. Sincerity, in spite of everything, has in it a force that controls passion and blind hatred, and when Tseretelli, whose every phrase is a sob, a cry of the heart, begs the assembly to return to reason, not to abandon itself to foolish acts, and not to ruin by madness the common work for which so much blood and so many tears had already been shed, a great silence hovers in the air, and one seems to hear the beating of the pulse of remorse.

BOLSHEVIKI WORSTED

The arguments of Tseretelli become more and more logical, more and more persuasive; he throws into the light the inanity of the Maximalist policy; he shows that their opposition, their intolerance, their tyranny are inspired only by their fear of criticism and by their lack of confidence in their own rightness. At last he dares to make this grave

assertion amid such surroundings: "The greatest enemy of the Russian revolution is German imperialism." And they listen to him, they no longer attack him! This day, with all its terrorism, has allowed two leaders of the Social Revolutionists to deliver speeches of prime importance; each of them, despite all that he has had to endure, has won his battle. The speeches of the Bolsheviks, with their ranting, their brutalities, and their too facile threats, seem rather mean and poor, compared to these masterpieces of eloquence.

Alas! So much the worse for Tchernov and Tseretelli if they have excelled. The Bolshevik chiefs find it agreeable to "decree" the reform of humanity through a series of ukases. Was it going to be necessary henceforth for them to descend to oratorical tilts with these prattlers of the Constitutional Assembly, to put everything again in doubt, perhaps to risk adventures?

It was already 10 o'clock at night. The Bolsheviks, gloomy, scowling, demanded a suspension of the session and retired to consult in the hall reserved for their party. They were not seen again. When the assembly resumed its work their benches remained empty, and everybody felt the premonition of some sinister event.

THE BREACH WIDENS

In the assembly hall the majority, knowing they are condemned, have come to a pause. Nevertheless, Skobeleff delivers his courageous address on the day's massacres, and, in spite of the threats and howls from the galleries, puts through a vote for an investigation. But now there appears in the tribune an emissary from the Bolsheviks, Raskolnikov. He has come to explain the absence of his party. He judges that the promises of the majority "are nothing but deceptions." But that is nothing. What the Bolshevik party cannot tolerate, he explains, is that the assembly should persist in ignoring the power of the Soviets. It persists in not recognizing their supremacy; it stubbornly maintains its "counter-revolutionary attitude." Henceforth it shall be for the

Soviets themselves to decide what shall be done with the counter-revolutionary party in the assembly.

The break has come. It is the crisis. The delegates sit in funereal silence. The galleries rock with joyful stamping.

The left wing of the Social Revolutionaries, faithful allies of the Bolsheviks, repeat the ultimatum formulated by Raskolnikov. Their orator, Steinberg, reproaches the majority with having craftily tried to escape from the necessity of replying in regard to the Soviets. Steinberg utters a grave and revealing phrase. He demands of the majority "an approbation, without reserve, of the policy of peace followed by the Commissaries." In short, what is sought to be exacted from the Constituent Assembly is that it should at first sight indorse with its high authority the pourparlers for a separate armistice. But the men elected by the people maintain a solemn silence, and for an instant one might believe there is a slight flutter in the ranks of the Social Revolutionary radicals. As there are many peasants among them, the majority invite them earnestly not to retire before at least voting on the agrarian law. They hesitate, are perplexed; but their leader, Karelin, demands the retirement of all his troop in a body, and leads it away, saying: "Our party is leaving this hypocritical and cowardly assembly, which is sinning against the revolution!"

Henceforth the schism is complete. The majority is isolated and waits for the worst. The tribunes howl, demanding that all the charlatans who persist in occupying the hall should be put out. The Social Revolutionist majority expects a coup de force; it feels that it is to be strangled, kept from proving that it is not the enemy of the people. Thus it uses its remnant of energy in trying to attest by striking acts that it, too, as much as the Bolsheviks, even more than they, desires the swift conclusion of a democratic peace, the socialization of the land, and the control of industrial enterprises. Thus far it has succeeded in evading the reply which the dictators of the Soviet had from the first exacted. Now that everything in its attitude and

in the words of its orators has expressed this response, it realizes that its dissolution is imminent; so with a feverish precipitation, which the circumstances nevertheless justify, it hastens to give answers to the great fundamental problems raised by the renovation of Russia's life. The resolution regarding peace negotiations is voted instantly amid the bellowings of the human beast.

Then, while President Tchernov in all haste is reading the draft of the law for the socialization of the land, a sailor suddenly mounts the tribune beside him, interrupts him, and signifies that the session must be adjourned, as "the guard is tired." In vain does Tchernov object that all the Deputies too are tired, but that they intend to continue the work which the nation has intrusted to them. His declaration that the assembly will give way only to force also is without effect, since it has been under the shadow of force from the beginning.

What is to be done when fanatics in the galleries are pointing their guns at the President, aiming at certain Deputies, and shouting that if they are made angry they are going to let loose a storm of bullets upon the assembly? What, indeed? The members vote with raised hands for the laws that Tchernov indicates. Hearts are full of anguish; some Deputies have tears in their eyes. They must leave, defeated, after a session of seventeen hours, with hanging head and heavy heart, to play the last act in this débâcle of democracy, while the sailors and Red Guards sneer and grumble, persuaded, apparently, that they have saved the revolution.

Lamentable is the scattering of the waifs of the Constituent Assembly in that black morning of Jan. 19, 1918! It is 6 o'clock; bayonets and looks of distrust and hatred glitter in the darkness. One hears terrible threats uttered. Sailors and Red Guards, ranged in hedges, insist on seeing file past them these suspects, men elected by universal suffrage, driven forth into the snow and tempest. Such is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Human folly can be more bitterly cold than the north wind.

CRIME OF THE MAJORITY

What, then, was the real crime of the Social Revolutionary majority? Precisely this—that it was a majority, forcing the Maximalists to see their own inferiority in numbers by ocular evidence. Then, the ability of its orators, Tsernov, Tseretelli, was so evident that the Commissaries refused to prolong an experience dangerous for their own power. They had instantly perceived that, with its eloquent speakers, this majority, if permitted to gain time, would by some skillful move shake down the audacious dogma of the supremacy of the Soviets. The latter refused to continue an intellectual joust which appeared decidedly unfavorable to themselves.

What is the good of discussing things with a parliamentary majority when one can disperse it with swashbucklers naïvely persuaded that by driving out the "false Socialists" they are helping to establish the golden age, in which the humblest mortals will taste on earth the joys, the happiness, the delights hitherto confined in all the paradises?

But especially—and this is the main point—the turn taken by the first debates had alarmed those who were directing the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. Had any speaker in those seventeen hours dared to oppose the revolutionary majesty by so much as an accent that was clearly patriotic? Certainly not. In all the speeches delivered by Maximalist or Minimalist orators, and despite the ferocity of the vociferations, there was, nevertheless, harmony, unanimity on one point—the horror of war, the obsession, the fixed idea of peace, and the mad hope, even the conviction, that the revolution was going to propagate itself throughout Europe and regenerate the universe.

New Russia remains persuaded, or is trying to persuade itself, in order to conceal from itself the true nature of its defection, that it is achieving a work infinitely more significant than a definitive victory over Teutonism would have been. This megalomania of pacifism, this imperialism of defeat was, for a foreigner, the dominant impression of

the day. Yet the virile address of Tseretelli, where he dared say that German militarism was the most dreadful of all perils, sounded like a defiance, an accusation in the ears of the clan which at Brest-Litovsk was intoxicating itself with fantastic Tales of Hoffmann. Such was the disturbing significance of the coup de force of which the Constituent Assembly was the victim.

DEATH KNELL OF RUSSIA

Thus the Constituent Assembly passed away, the last, pale phantom of what had been the Russian nationality. Unstable as it was, this apparition still seemed menacing to those who since the Spring of 1917 had so insistently assured the simple Russian people that a peace without annexations or indemnities would be the easiest thing in the world to obtain from the Central Powers. This internationalist convention was still too nationalist for the mysterious men who, since the preceding May, had never ceased to engineer fraternizations with the enemy, and who had worked so desperately, through a cynical propaganda, to annihilate the Russian Army. This convention of dreamers and idealists still shed too much light to suit the dark agitators whose return to Rus-

sia exactly coincided with the appearance of clouds, ever more livid, in the sky, until then limpid and rosy, of the young revolution.

With the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly our last illusions have vanished. The weak pretense of declaring a holy war on Germany if she dared propose a peace other than "democratic"; the bluff at raising a revolutionary army—are these not merely deceptions added to preceding deceptions? The only war that is being prepared for in earnest is civil war. One can no longer see from what direction rescue could come. On every side, within the boundaries of what once was Russia, one sees only chaos, confusion, catastrophe, and the people seem to have neither the strength nor the courage to react. Thus, during the fourth year of a disastrous war and after one year of revolution, the pretended dictatorship of the proletariat, wielded in reality by a few thousand sailors and armed workmen—the least thoughtful and most covetous and brutal elements—pursues its course with many appearances of being subordinated to a conspiracy of which it seems to be the blind instrument.

Petrograd, Jan. 23, 1918.

Great Britain and the Yugoslav State

The New Adriatic Reconciliation

[BY THE EDITOR OF THE NEW EUROPE]

FOUR years of war changed many things, but none more markedly or more felicitously than the Adriatic question. When Italy entered the war in May, 1915, the enmity of Latin and Slav on the shores of the Adriatic Sea, artificially created and sedulously fostered by successive Hapsburg Governments, was in full flame, and bade fair to consume both races in a devastating conflagration from which alone the common enemy, Austria, could profit. The Southern Slav hated the Italian in Dalmatia as an imperialist usurper, the Italian denounced the Southern Slavs as the Cossacks of Austria brutally overwhelming

a superior culture by sheer force of numbers.

At successive periods before the war the Vienna Government fostered the pretensions, now of the one party, now of the other, and thus aroused an acute sense of grievance in both. It seemed as if nothing but a miracle could reveal to these fratricidal peoples where their real enemy and their true interests lay. The miracle has come to pass, and in our rejoicing we shall not attempt to apportion the credit to the various agencies which have brought it about. But, since British friends of both peoples have had some share in it, we take this occasion

to express our gratitude to the Government for enabling Lord Robert Cecil to greet the new Adriatic reconciliation with such a significant and eloquent welcome.

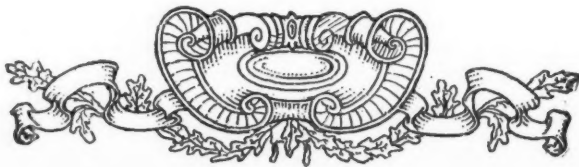
At the Mansion House celebration of Italy's third war anniversary, the Minister of Blockade not only spoke of our Latin ally in language whose warmth and sincerity is echoed in every British heart, but singled out for special emphasis of praise the generosity of Italian statesmanship, by which a new era of co-operation has been opened for the Adriatic peoples. To Lord Robert Cecil's words we will only add that the Adriatic agreement is a most remarkable proof of the efficacy of unofficial diplomacy in preparing the ground for a real diplomatic triumph. The Governments concerned will be the first to recognize that private initiative launched and skillful private diplomacy steered this fine enterprise to the haven of official approval. And when we speak of official approval we cannot resist a slight attack of self-satisfaction at the language which Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of the British Government, addressed to Italy and to those subject races of the Hapsburg Monarchy whose representatives recently met in that historic Congress of Nationalities in the Campidoglio at Rome.

TEXT OF LORD CECIL'S ADDRESS

Above all, do not let us forget the principles we are fighting for. Let us hold high, and ever higher, the standard of freedom and justice under which we are battling. In these things, I venture to think, our Italian ally has given us a splendid example. I will not speak of their efforts; I have already said something of them; I know how warmly they have seconded all proposals for a closer union between the Allies, and, above all, I welcome especially their recent congress at Rome, which has done so much to strengthen the alliance of which they are a part. I believe that congress was valuable for its wisdom and its moderation.

I believe it was valuable for the spirit of brotherhood which it displayed. But, above all, I welcome it because it showed that the Italian Government, as expressed by the speech of the Italian Prime Minister, (Signor Orlando,) recognize to the full that the principles on which the Kingdom of Italy was founded were not only of local application, but extend to international relations. Italy has shown herself ready to extend to the Poles, to those gallant Czechoslovaks, to the Rumanians, and last, but not least, to the Jugoslavs, the principles on which her own "Risorgimento" was founded, and on which she may still go forward to a greater future than she has ever seen in the past. That is a great work, and those who have borne any part in it may well be proud of their accomplishment. Assuredly, it is welcome to the British Government, and, if I may venture to interpose a personal note, particularly to myself. I always felt, and I said so here eighteen months ago, that there was no inconsistency whatever between the aspirations of Italy and those of Jugoslavia. We welcome it, not only because it is just and true, not only because it increases the cordial co-operation of our allies, but also because it emphasizes and brings once more into clear relief the principles for which we are fighting this war.

People talk sometimes about the dismemberment of Austria. I have no weakness for Austria; but I venture to think that that is the wrong point of view. The true way to regard this problem is not the dismemberment of Austria, but the liberation of the populations subject to her rule. We are anxious to see all these peoples in the enjoyment of full liberty and independence; able by some great federation to hold up in Central Europe the principles upon which European policy must be founded, unless we are to face disasters too horrible to contemplate. The old days of arbitrary allotment of this population or that to this sovereignty or that are gone—and, I trust, gone forever. We must look for any future settlement to a settlement not of courts or Cabinets, but of nations and populations. On that alone depends the whole conception of the League of Nations, of which we have heard so much, and unless that can be secured as the foundation for that great idea, I myself despair of its successful establishment.



War Finances

Public Debts of Each of the Chief Belligerent Countries in the First 47 Months of the War

By D. G. ROGERS

DURING the first three years and eleven months of the war the public debts of the warring countries, as treated below, in Table 1, show an aggregate of \$129,500,000,000, of which about \$85,600,000,000 represents the increase in the public debts of the different allied groups and \$43,800,000,000 the increase in the public debt of the Central Powers.

Among the European nations, Great Britain shows the largest increase of indebtedness, viz., by \$26,542,000,000. This total includes \$7,027,000,000 advanced to allies and dominions up to Feb. 9, 1918. On the other hand, the total increase is inclusive of advances received from the United States since April, 1917, which totaled \$3,055,000,000 on June 30, 1918.

RUSSIA'S GREAT DEBT

Russia's public debt shows an increase of about \$20,200,000,000 between Jan. 1, 1914, and Sept. 1, 1917. This total includes the amounts advanced by the Allies, and, in addition, about \$7,800,000,000 received by the Treasury in the shape of notes from the State Bank, whose stock is owned exclusively by the Government. To the \$7,027,000,000 advanced by Great Britain, largely to Russia and Italy, should be added advances of the United States to the Allies totaling \$5,594,000,000 on June 26, 1918.

The war debts of Germany and Austria-Hungary likewise include advances—to Bulgaria and Turkey. These advances, so far as known, cover by far the larger portion of the war expenditures of these two.

Total debt figures shown pertain to the principal belligerent countries only, and do not include the public debts of neutral countries, which have risen considerably during the war.

COMPARATIVE TABLE I

Showing the public debt of the principal belligerent countries (in millions of dollars):*

ALLIED POWERS			
Country.	Before Enter- ing War. Amount.	At Most Re- cent Date. Amount.	Increase.
Great Britain..	\$3,458	\$30,000	\$26,542
Rest of Bt. Emp	1,454	3,000	1,546
France	6,598	25,227	18,629
Russia	5,092	25,383	20,291
Italy	2,792	7,676	4,884
United States...	1,208	15,008	13,800
Total	\$20,602	\$106,294	\$85,692
CENTRAL POWERS			
Germany	\$1,165	†\$30,000	\$28,835
Austria	2,640	13,314	10,674
Hungary	1,345	5,704	4,359
Total	\$5,150	\$49,018	\$43,868
Grand total.	\$25,752	\$155,312	\$129,560

With the spread of the war and the continuous rise of prices, the cost of the war is constantly increasing, calling for larger and larger borrowings by the Governments. In floating the huge public loans the Governments have had the assistance of the banks, co-operation between the Governments and central banks of issue being particularly close. Loans of a permanent character are, as a rule, preceded by issues in large volume of Treasury bills or certificates, a large proportion of which is discounted by the central banks. The amounts of Treasury bills and other short-term obligations discounted by the European Governments with their central banks have

*The ante-war public debt figures are those of the Federal Reserve bulletin; figures by the same authority were used as a basis in bringing up the figures to June 30, 1918.

†Prince Fugger declared recently in the Bavarian Chamber of Deputies, according to German papers, that Germany would have to provide for a war debt of about \$33,250,000,000 if the war terminated unfavorably to her this Summer.

been constantly rising, partly accounting for the inflation of currency and prices, which in turn cause increased borrowing.

In Great Britain temporary borrowings of the Government from the Bank of England, as a rule, do not cause any increase in note circulation, the Government receiving deposit credit for the amount borrowed. Whatever addition to

note circulation took place there is due to issues of currency notes by the Government to the banks, largely against the deposit of Government and other securities, as distinct from the practice on the European Continent, where, in most cases, notes are primarily issued by the central bank to the Governments.

Table 2, below, shows the effect of the war upon the status of the principal

COMPARATIVE TABLE 2

Showing total note circulation, deposits in gold and silver, and holdings of principal banks of issue at the outbreak of the war and at the end of 1917.

ALLIED POWERS

(In thousands of dollars)

AT OUTBREAK OF THE WAR					AT END OF 1917				
Total Note Circulation	Total Deposits...	Gold and Silver Holdings	Ratio of Gold and Silver to Total Note and De- posit Liabilities. P.C.	Total Note Circulation	Total Deposits...	Gold and Silver Holdings	Ratio of Gold and Silver to Total Note and De- posit Liabilities. P.C.		
France	\$1,289,855	\$256,716	\$919,968	59.5	\$4,311,000	\$610,961	\$687,480	13.7	
Great Britain	144,566	326,699	185,567	39.4	1,223,586	808,671	283,899	27.5	
Japan ²	212,342	61,367	112,296	41.0	410,816	291,341	326,982	46.6	
Italy	324,824	37,403	232,965	64.3	1,243,574	309,579	178,188	11.5	
Russia	841,174	592,522	863,371	60.2	9,456,516	1,780,088	4758,798	6.8	
Total ...	\$2,812,761	\$1,274,707	\$2,314,167	56.6	\$15,645,492	\$3,800,640	\$2,235,377	11.4	
United States ⁵ .....	.....	.....	.....	....	\$1,246,488	\$1,457,994	\$1,668,268	61.7

CENTRAL POWERS

Austria-H'y .	\$432,341	\$59,419	\$311,963	63.4	\$3,594,156	\$424,004	\$64,657	1.1
Germany	632,442	299,515	363,670	36.7	2,729,324	1,915,993	615,929	13.3
Total	\$1,124,783	\$358,934	\$675,633	45.6	\$6,323,480	\$2,339,997	\$680,586	7.8

¹In addition, there were outstanding currency notes to the extent of \$1,035,505,039, secured by \$1,370,023,500 in gold.

²Figures for Dec. 31, 1913 and 1917.

³These figures refer to the Bank of Italy. On Nov. 10, 1917, there were also in circulation notes of the Bank of Sicily, 274,666,650 lire; notes of the Bank of Naples, 1,413,103,400 lire, and Treasury bills (Nov. 30) 1,684,000,000 lire, (metallic reserve 167,000,000 lire,) a total of 3,371,770,050 lire, or \$650,751,620, as against \$197,053,400 on July 20, 1914.

⁴Figures for Oct. 16-29, 1917.

⁵Figures for the Federal Reserve Banks, as of Dec. 28, 1917, exclusive of gold with foreign agencies.

⁶There were also outstanding on Dec. 31, 1917, the following issues:

	Million Marks.
Treasury notes	350.0
Loan Bank certificates	6,266.0
Notes of Bank of Bavaria.....	68.5
Notes of Bank of Saxony.....	44.1
Notes of Bank of Württemberg.....	24.6
Notes of Bank of Baden.....	26.0
	6,799.2

or \$1,613,450,000. On July 31, 1914, the issues of the latter four banks amounted to \$40,590,900, as against \$38,844,500 on Dec. 31, 1917.

banks of issue in the warring countries, according to the Federal Reserve bulletin. It is seen that while the amounts of metallic cover at the banks in the warring countries of Europe have changed but little in the aggregate, the ratio of these amounts to their liabilities has gone down since July, 1914, from 54.3 to 9.4 per cent.

Amounts of gold held in the vaults of the central banks of issue do not represent in every instance the total monetary stocks of gold in any given country. Great Britain maintains a metallic cover of \$138,695,250 against currency notes, which amounted to \$211,785,306 on May 12, 1915, and \$1,035,505,039 on Dec. 31, 1917. The Irish banks held on an average for the four weeks ended Nov. 3, 1917, \$80,320,541 in gold against an average note circulation of \$107,872,975, and the Scotch banks reported as of the same date average gold holdings of \$82,678,720, against an average amount of notes in circulation of \$88,106,406. There should also be included small amounts of reserve and circulation of six private banks and three joint stock banks in England proper. The larger commercial banks in England also hold as part of their vault cash considerable amounts of

gold, the London City and Midland Bank alone showing in gold \$34,065,000 on Dec. 31, 1917.

In the case of Italy there are notes in circulation of the Banca di Napoli and the Banca di Sicilia in addition to the issues of the Banca d'Italia. On Nov. 30, 1917, the combined gold reserves of the first two banks were \$45,355,000 and silver reserves to the extent of \$7,720,000, against a combined note circulation of \$343,733,000. On the same date the Italian Treasury held \$32,231,000 of metallic reserve against its Treasury note issue of \$325,012,000.

Figures of gold reserves relating to the Bank of France, the Reichsbank, and the Austro-Hungarian Bank are more closely representative of the total monetary stock of gold in those countries. All gold in circulation that could possibly be gathered was concentrated in the vault of the central banks. Some increase in the gold reserve of the Reichsbank is probably due to the transfer to its vault of part of the gold reserve held by the Austro-Hungarian Bank at the outbreak of the war. On July 23, 1914, the latter held \$271,589,437 in gold coin and bars, and this sum had gone down to \$53,630,570 on Dec. 7, 1917.

Casualties of Belligerents

Approximately Eight Millions Dead and Thirteen Millions Wounded or Missing During Four Years of Fighting

IN attempting to arrive at an estimate of the loss of man power in the war, one confronts difficulties on the part of various Governments which refuse to publish casualty figures. One is eventually compelled to rely on statements of a more or less contradictory character.

Great Britain since the beginning of the war has consistently published her casualties. Her losses have been smaller than those of the other European powers, owing to the time required to bring her full strength to bear upon the enemy. The United States has also followed the practice of publishing daily losses;

therefore, the figures for Great Britain and the United States as shown in the table below are official.

The nearest approach to an official statement of losses suffered by France during the last four years was given by André Tardieu in an address at the Madison Avenue Baptist Church, New York City, on April 28, 1918, when he stated that the French battle losses, including killed, wounded, and captured, totaled 2,600,000 men, of whom about 1,300,000 were killed outright.

France suffered tremendously in the early retreat to the Marne and later in the defense of Verdun. These and

other losses, together with those suffered as a result of the German drives during this year's campaign, undoubtedly increased her total casualties considerably.

Russia was one of the greatest mortality sufferers of all the warring powers, and the figures as given probably lean toward conservatism.

Italy until recently was saved from extreme casualties through the confining of open operations to her mountain frontiers. The great offensive of Austria along the Piave undoubtedly increased the losses of Italy to an appreciable extent.

Belgium and Serbia, overrun by the Teutonic powers early in the war, lost heavily, but of late their armies have been comparatively inactive. Rumania, although entering the war late, suffered disastrously through German invasion.

According to the German official casualty list published daily until May 10, 1916, the Germans had lost up to that date 2,822,079 men. The daily list was then succeeded by a monthly summary compiled by the British War Office from German bulletins, which gave the total loss up to Aug. 1, 1917, as 4,624,256, of which 1,056,975 were killed or dead of wounds, and 335,269 were registered as prisoners.

In October, 1917, George Ledebour, the German Socialist leader, is reported to have stated during a speech in the Reichstag that Germany, during three years of war, had lost 6,000,000 men, of which 1,500,000 were dead. Karl Bleibtreu, the German military statistician, writing in *Das Neue Europa* of April 22, 1918, gives the German losses up to Jan. 1, 1918, as 4,456,961 men. His figures deal exclusively with those killed in action or taken prisoner. Using the German figures with caution, together with the Entente estimates of Germany's heavy losses this year, the totals arrived at in the summary may be considered as a fair approximation.

In regard to Austria-Hungary, the great campaigns in the east during the last four years are to be considered, these having been carried on by large forces in the open over wide stretches of territory. Lack of means of communication and hospital facilities also has been a factor in increasing the total losses.

The Teutonic casualties in Italy have been large. Their latest offensive, June-July, 1918, resulted in disaster, with an estimated casualty list of 150,000 men.

Turkey has been a heavy loser, waging war on a wide sweep of front, from Gallipoli through Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. Bulgaria's losses have been comparatively small.

The figures appended do not include the enormous loss of life among the civilian population of invaded countries, though such loss was directly attributable to the war. Nor do they include losses of life at sea.

LOSSES AMONG COMBATANTS IN FOUR YEARS OF WAR

[Figures estimated, except United States and Great Britain]

	Dead.	*Wounded, Captured, or Missing.	Total Casualties
United States..	†4,487	6,752	11,239
Great Britain..	†434,774	979,154	1,413,928
France	1,375,069	1,600,279	2,975,348
Russia	2,762,064	2,466,572	5,228,636
Italy	160,356	329,644	490,000
Belgium	63,250	182,898	246,148
Serbia	76,484	261,170	337,654
Rumania	100,000	250,000	350,000
Totals	4,976,484	6,076,469	11,052,953
Germany	1,812,500	4,569,820	6,382,320
Austria-H'ary ..	964,368	1,779,317	2,743,685
Turkey	182,644	370,452	553,096
Bulgaria	†11,324	19,128	30,452
Totals	2,970,836	6,738,717	9,709,553
Grand totals.	7,946,320	12,816,186	20,762,506

*Eighty per cent. of the Entente allied wounded return to the armies; Germany claims that 85 per cent. of her wounded return as combatants.

†To July 9, 1918, inclusive.

‡To July 1, 1918, (forty-seven months.)

The Agony of the City of Lille

Experiences of One Citizen During the Horrors of German Occupation

Part I.

By MARGUERITE BUCHET

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by M. L. Cavanaugh]

During the twenty years since I left Lille I have not had the opportunity of seeing my old governess, Mlle. Marguerite Buchet. After she had regained her freedom, through a convoy sent to the south of France, and as she was no longer under the domination of the Germans, she wrote me this account of the invasion. The poor woman opened her heart and told me of the agonizing moments and the harrowing scenes she had passed through. On leaving Lille she was obliged to leave her safe-deposit box, which contained the earnings of the hard labor of her entire life, and which she knew she would never be able to recover. At her departure the Germans would not allow her to take even two francs from her box. In publishing this account, I wish to show once more what it is to be under the yoke of our enemy, and also to evince the sentiment of friendship and memory for one who was so kind to me in my childhood.—Foreword by Mme. Marie Reveilhac.

MY country is dear France. My native city is dear old Lille, which for three years has groaned under the domination of the Germans. During the first days which followed the invasion and the great fires in the city we only had the strength to suffer, but at the end of a few weeks I thought I would write what I would call "mes souvenirs," that is to say, the most striking things I noted, as they presented themselves, but "mes souvenirs" never saw the light. On our departure the Germans forbade us to take books, journals, paper, &c., consequently we burned quantities of letters and papers, as we preferred to destroy them sooner than let them fall into the hands of our enemies.

October, 1914, will never be forgotten by us; no one can ever understand the terrible sorrow of the invasion if they have not experienced it. Friday, Oct. 9, the first bomb fell on the city. Saturday they fought on the boulevard. All the inhabitants hurried into their houses. In the evening the bombardment commenced, continuing Sunday and Monday. Darkness reigned in the city. Thousands of shells whistled,

fire broke out, hearts were crushed with anguish and grief, while our brave soldiers valiantly held out. Our heroic defenders were only a few thousand, and they were attacked by a strong army. Our men knew it could only end in defeat, that word which chills the blood, but they had been commanded to hold bravely on, in order to save the region further north which led to the sea, so they fought courageously, heedless of the tremendous force and thinking neither of their wounded nor their dead. For some days the city had been declared closed, and as there were so few cannons they carried them from one gate to another, striving to make the Germans think that they had many. Fires broke out in many quarters of the city, flames shooting to twenty and thirty meters in height. There were some desperate flights for life amid the fall of whistling shells. I know of a woman with three children who was obliged to flee from her house five times during that terrible night. There were young mothers who had to flee with their newly born. A little child, trembling all over, said: "Bonne maman, je ne vais pas mourir." They had to

leave everything, their homes, their souvenirs, everything they loved, and go to the unknown in their distress and poverty. Finally, the hour approached when our Lille was proud to have paid her debt to her country by bravely holding on, notwithstanding her sorrows and trials. The white flag was hoisted, the city surrendered. The German General, full of admiration for the commander who had shown so much heroism, accepted his sword and saluted him the first. However, the enemy entered the city, singing their song of victory, and danced before the flaming houses, while the bombardment still continued in certain quarters of the city. Some of the defenders were able to conceal themselves in order not to be made prisoners, burning their clothes. Others less fortunate, left for captivity.

Tuesday morning, Oct. 13, the German Army made its entrance into our dear old Lille, where reigned the silence of death, a silence which accompanies the greatest grief, and what grief could be greater than this? It was the silence, the solitude, the calm, the majesty of a noble, of a heroic, defeat.

Not a citizen was in the street; every window, every door, was closed. The troops filed by an endlessly long time without provocation, I must admit it, without a cry of victory. My sister and I will never forget our suffering the morning of Oct. 13; it will be forever engraved on our hearts. I still tremble and suffer today, though more than three years have passed. The heavens were red, flames crackled, fire continued, certain streets seemed like a vast furnace, there seemed to be no help. The firemen were guarded by the Germans, the hydrants likewise. There were many houses which did not start to burn until Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday morning; if it had been their wish, they could have been saved. I myself saw a priest tear up the pavement of a street with a pickaxe in order to cut the pipes to aid the engine which he and other men had hastened to bring there in their great distress, and when they were so tired that they were obliged to stop a second the fire would burst forth anew in great

flames. As soon as the firemen were set free they rushed madly to the scene, but the fire had reached such a magnitude that all help seemed useless. They cried with anguish: "Water, water; pump more and faster!"

Was the bombardment the cause of all these fires? Most certainly not. A person whom I knew intimately, and whom I could believe, said to me: "Opposite our house I saw a German take a pickaxe and break open a house which was not on fire; five minutes later the house was in flames."

Tuesday the Dean of the great church at Lille, St. Maurice, whose parish had been particularly ravaged by the fire, rushed through the streets crying to his dear parishioners: "Save what you can, bring it to the church, and place it there." St. Maurice, much ruined by the shells, had been saved from the fire. It was indeed a spectacle that I will never forget which I saw the following Sunday. The great naves, the chapels were filled with all kinds of objects; commodes, chairs, trunks, sewing machines, old statues, old frames, artificial flowers, which retained only the value of a souvenir, which showed dire poverty, were mingled with the richest furniture. The charity of this priest touched me, and the old church filled in this manner brought tears in my eyes.

From the first days placards appeared, indicating to us the orders of our masters, and also making to us lying promises. In fact, they declared that the commercial life would not be interrupted, that the wealth and the property of the citizens would be respected. A little later we had other placards, which did not declare the same things. We had all kinds and all colors—yellow, red, blue, green, orange—one after the other, touching our fortunes. They requisitioned horses, saddles, oils, grease, arms, leather, bicyclettes, flax, oxen, carriages, wines, grain, all the equipment for photography, telephones, dogs, chickens, rabbits, linen, wool, thread. I have friends from whom they have taken 600,000 francs. They have taken

all, a little at a time, even the old iron, and wooden shoes.

Very soon a placard appeared which announced to us that in order to keep a dog we would be obliged to pay a big tax, and also to submit to certain rules and regulations. There followed a veritable sacrifice of dogs, notwithstanding their great love for the faithful animals; but give money to the enemy? Oh, no. So the dogs were killed by thousands.

This country of the north of France, which is so rich, so fertile, is ruined. I heard one lady say: "They have taken 4,000,000 francs. It was the fortune of my children which I saw carried away." The Germans themselves are stupefied at the great wealth. It was said that they were heard to exclaim: "Les murs de Roubaix, transparent de l'or." The finest materials have gone, the beautiful trees are destroyed, all is lost, but we still remain brave and French now and forever!

We were ordered to be in our houses by 5 o'clock in the evening. Every one said: "How kind they are, what good care of our health!" As these sarcastic exclamations were heard by the Germans, a new command was given, forbidding any one to criticise in any way the acts of the German Government. All these commands terminated with threats of fines and imprisonment. We suffered the punishment of entering the house at 5 o'clock three times during the thirty-two months.

I passed under the German domination. The first time was on the occasion of French prisoners passing. They had not only been saluted, the dear soldiers of France, but cigars and cakes had been thrown to them. The following day a placard appeared which informed us that we did not understand our position and we must be in our homes by 5 o'clock.

German policemen on bicycles appeared in the streets. No one was permitted to stand near a window; the children could not even play in a yard which opened on the street from 5 o'clock; the silence of death reigned, only broken by the heavy steps of the Germans, and they even confessed to each other at that time that

such a solitude was not gay. The blinds on all the stores and houses were closed.

This punishment was again inflicted during the Summer, on our refusal to make bags and cordage for the German Army; it was hard to endure; the children grew pale and the workmen suffered. It was extremely hard on families who lived in the mansards. Did the air of the good God also belong to the conquerors? It was finally through the effort of our Bishop that the punishment was lessened. The affair of the making of the sacks was terrible: some women were imprisoned, they were told they could have their liberty as soon as they accepted the work. They were given only bread and water, and were forced to remain standing, not even a bed was given for the night. There was one of them who suffered cruelly, and no care was given to her. The courageous women continued to resist, refusing to work. After a week had passed some prominent persons went to them and advised them to work, for if they continued to refuse they would still be treated in the same way, and perhaps even worse. One woman who was imprisoned for refusing to work awakened in the night with a cry of horror, as rats were running all around! Others, who were rich, were obliged to pay heavy fines.

A brave peasant who had been exempted by France on account of an infirmity was ordered to work in the trenches. All the preceding night he and his wife wept bitterly. He wanted to run away, but where and for what good? He would only be captured, so he worked under the eyes of a German, who watched him with a revolver in his hand. All that he suffered on such days is indescribable; they paid him, saying: "We can afford to be generous, as the City of Lille gives the money." It was in the month of December, 1914, that we experienced for the first time a sorrow of which we had not dreamed. It was to hear our bells, mute since the 12th of October, by order of the conquerors—to hear them ring at their command to announce their victories. This, indeed, was suffering! It was endured three times during the following year. No one can

Imagine how we suffered, what sorrow it was. We experienced at the same time shame and humiliation, a crushing of all the sentiments, both patriotic and religious, but we were too proud to show that we suffered.

In the Winter of 1916 I again heard the bells of Lille; it was to announce the taking of Bucharest; it was at 9 o'clock in the evening. For an hour the great city had been silent, though the obligatory entrance was at 8 o'clock. Suddenly the joyous tones burst forth in every quarter, all churches, save one, joining in this glorious outburst. *Sacré Coeur* was excepted, as the Germans injured the bells when announcing one of their victories.

Another torture which we had to endure was their music; every day there were "parades" on the "grand place," consequently music. As our population is a dignified one, each person continued on his way as if he heard nothing, but they heard only too well. A "monsieur" having put his hands to his ears when the "fanfare" commenced was put in prison for forty days. As for myself, I have stood more than once gazing into an empty window in order to avoid looking at the "parade." Many others did the same thing. Some one will ask, why an empty window; simply because our stores had been stripped for a long time of everything. Our material life was excessively painful. During some months the bread had been a grayish black or brown, the color of spices. At times it was miserable; at times the animals even refused to eat it. It stuck to the hands, to the teeth.

Fortunately, the American committee came to our relief and sent us some flour. What enthusiasm when once more we saw white bread! Many, many thanks to those who had pity on the poor invaded region! There was distribution of rations at fixed hours. Unfortunate, indeed, was the one who was detained by some occupation at the appointed time; then he was obliged to do without the precious food for two days until a new distribution.

During many months the rations were

a demi livre—that is to say, 250 grams per person; it was not sufficient for the young people, nor for the workmen, as they were deprived of meat and vegetables. All food was obtained at an exorbitant price—meat \$6, butter \$5.20, sugar \$2.40, chocolate \$3, potatoes 38 cents, all sold at 1 kilo, (2 1-5 pounds.) The prices before the war for the same amount were as follows: Sugar 17 cents, potatoes 3 cents, chocolate 40 cents, butter 74 cents, meat 30 cents. A chicken costs \$5.20 now instead of \$1, a rabbit \$5 in place of 60 cents. An egg reached the enormous price of 24 cents, a cabbage 25 cents. The Germans forced us to buy their flour; it made the bread grayish color. Not a milkman was to be seen. Some vegetables and fruits I did not even see during the second year of the occupation, and even the food, dear as it was, could not be found. It was only obtained by fraud. One woman paid a fine of \$18.75 for having brought a rabbit to Lille. Another passed nine days in the citadel for taking some potatoes into his village. This the régime of the citadel: the bed is the hard earth, the food consists of bread, water, coffee, and soup. Rats are the companions of the prisoners. The food was so dear that we naturally had to do without it. Children could not live on such a miserable diet. The mortality among them increased frightfully. In March, 1916, it was more than double that in 1915; it became known abroad. Other nations were touched by it and sent commissions to inquire into the cause of the great mortality and to take steps to remedy it.

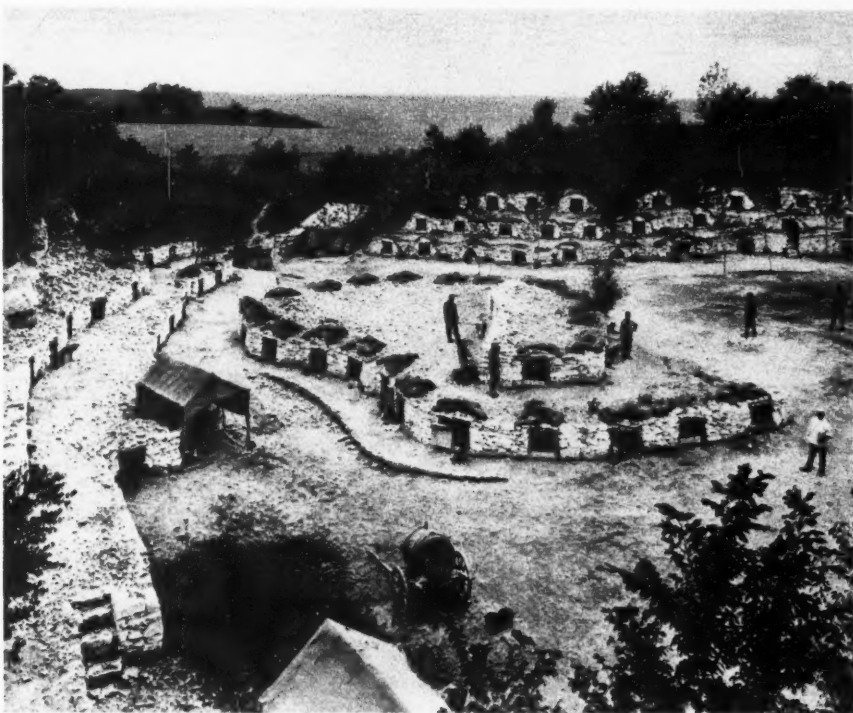
Oh, the Germans! How well they understand how to bring ruin, devastation, and death! The lightest of maladies became serious under such conditions, and the terrible tuberculosis found the ground all prepared for it.

We ate rice, and rice again; the leaves of rhubarb were used in place of spinach, the leaves of carrots and radishes in guise of salads, even in the wealthiest families.

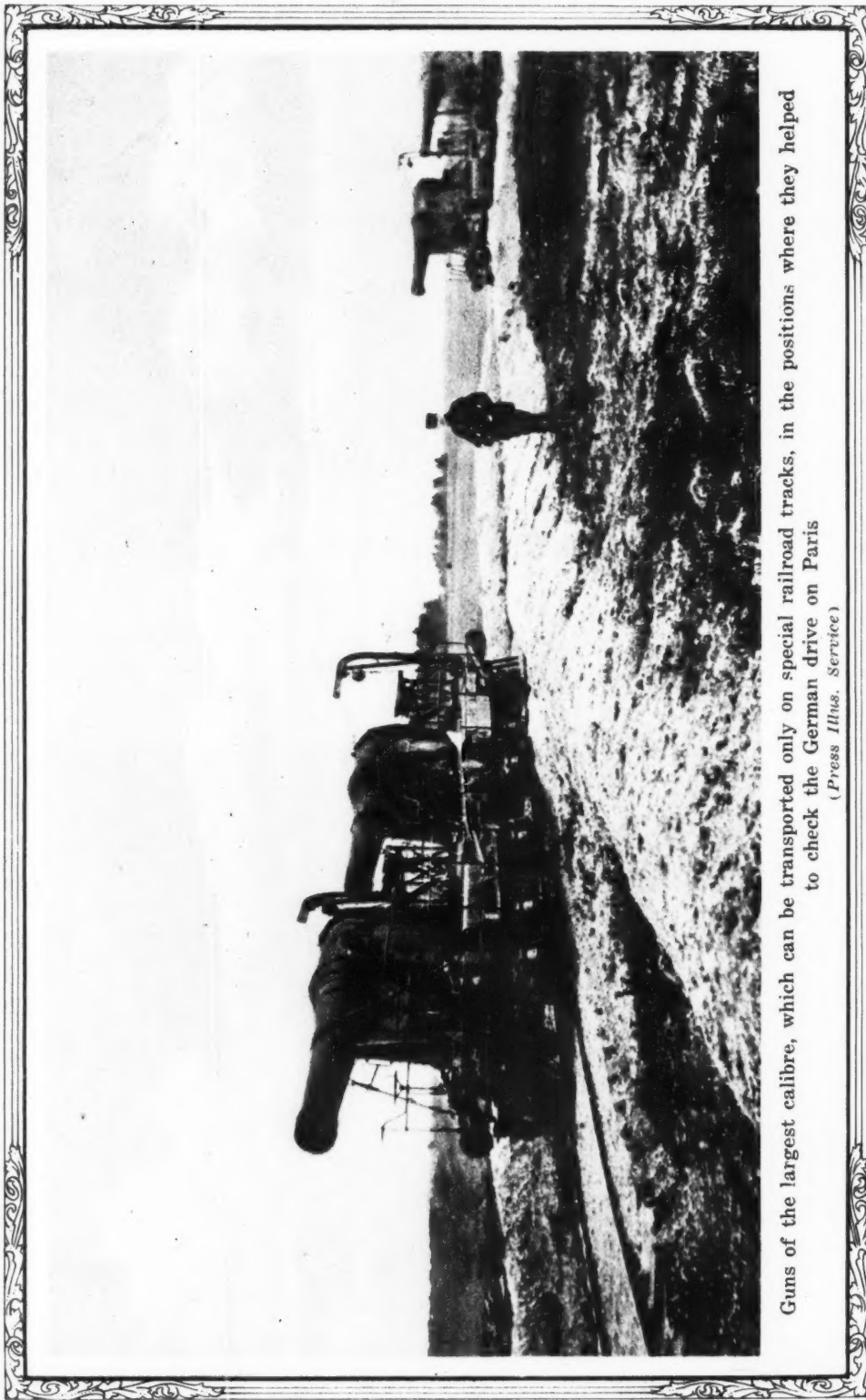
[The second installment will be printed next month.]



Dogs trained for the British Army as dispatch bearers
(© Western Newspaper Union)



Kennels of French war dogs employed for dispatch carrying and
Red Cross work
(French Pictorial Service)



Guns of the largest calibre, which can be transported only on special railroad tracks, in the positions where they helped to check the German drive on Paris
(Press Illustration Service)

Nieuport, City of Desolation

Described by an Eyewitness

A correspondent on the Belgian front, who visited the ruins of Nieuport in February, 1918, sent to the official journal, Informations Belges, this description of the city after three years of German bombardment:

OUR automobile has passed Furnes and Wulpen. It has crossed the canal between Furnes and Nieuport on a temporary bridge. It is jolted about on a road almost destroyed, with paving stones torn up, leaving great holes full of liquid mud. The Germans are firing heavy shells. One hears the jerky whistling of the projectiles, which seem to have difficulty in piercing the air, and in rotating on their own axes seem to advance by fits and starts. Then comes the explosion in a cloud of black smoke amid a rain of clods and brickbats from a farm already in ruins. As it is broad daylight, and as it is wiser to be modest and not attract attention, we continue our way on foot, splashing through puddles and miring our feet in the clay. One more bridge to cross and we are in Nieuport.

As you know, the city is very ancient. Baudoin-Bras-de-Fer, he of the iron arm, was born here in 820. Another Count of Flanders famous in history, Guy de Dampierre, built a lighthouse here which could still be seen before the war, and which was the only surviving example of the Belgian maritime architecture of the Middle Ages. Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries Nieuport was rich and prosperous. Then came decay and obscurity. In history its name survived in connection with the battle between Archduke Albert and Maurice of Nassau. The city led a quiet life, and its streets, fallen silent, showed animation only in Summer, when groups of seaside tourists came to visit its markets and its fourteenth century belfry, its church, remarkable for the lightness and beauty of its structure, and the famous Tower of the Templars.

The Germans came in 1914. The modern Vandals destroyed the monuments and art treasures that fell into their hands. After their departure they were

furious. In the shadow of the ruins of the church could still be seen in 1915 the graves of the heroic soldiers who had died during the battles of the Yser. To-day even this cemetery is devastated by German shells. Of the monuments of a glorious past there remain only formless fragments. The old houses have collapsed under the blows of the barbarians, and their shattered remains lie heaped in streets that are riddled with shell holes. The City Hall and High School are ruins. A place of desolation and sadness!

"My parents lived in Nieuport," says the commandant who is with me. "I attended the High School."

He looks for the house where his father and mother had lived in happiness. It no longer exists. He retraces the way over which he had so often trudged as a schoolboy with his books under his arm. He has to turn out for enormous shell holes, and climb over mountains of bricks and beams. It is a sad journey.

At a street corner is a disembowled store. The front has fallen into the highway. The roof is gone. A piece of ceiling remains by a miracle of equilibrium. A sign nailed to a piece of wall informs us: "Morgue." In a corner on a bier lies the body of a soldier who has just been killed, and who has been brought here to await burial.

Another sign further on: "Chapel." An arrow indicates a low entrance way. A staircase leads down through darkness, which must be lighted with one's pocket lamp. A matted door gives security against burstingshells. Another door leads into a cellar. The furniture consists of three pine benches, a velvet sofa of faded garnet color, and a few scattered chairs. At the back are a table and four candlesticks, no two alike, before a chromolithograph representing the Mother and Child. Here is where the chaplain will

say mass for the repose of the soul of the man who has just given his life for his country. "De Profundis Clamavi ad Te, Domine * * *"

To the east of the city is the new quarter, with its houses of brick veneer trimmed with white stone, its corbelled turrets and gabled roofs, in the Flemish "neo-Renaissance" style. Here, too, are only ruins and débris—in front of the railway station, which is pierced with shell holes and partly collapsed, at the gas works, whose great tanks are now only a mass of scrap iron and plates riddled by projectiles.

By connecting trenches we reach the basin. Above the parapets of the trenches the carcasses of wagons are silhouetted against the sky. Further on lies Nieuport-Bains, the former bathing beach on the English Channel, now the northern extremity of the western front.

Night has fallen now. The Germans continue to fire, and behind us the bursting of a volley of shell tears the ears. Through utter darkness we get back to Nieuport and cross the city again. It is a new sport this, of circulating among shell holes, heaps of débris, and large

ponds of mud, when one cannot see a step ahead. And it is not merely a matter of clicking your pocket light upon the path. Instantly imperative voices come out of the blackness: "Put that light out! Do you want them to get our range?" The night is much more animated than was the day. One hears the tramp of relief parties and revictualing squads on the pavements, the dull rumble of trucks and cannon on the trails.

On the Belgian front among the "poilus"—who, by the way, are generally beardless and close shaven—a sixth sense is rapidly developed, namely, that of keeping their bearings at night. Thus we arrived without too much trouble at the place where we had left our automobile behind a piece of broken wall on a ruined farm.

Nieuport was in a terrible condition in 1915. Today it is an absolute ruin. Nothing can restore it. It will be necessary to remove the débris, make a clean sweep, and build anew. Better, perhaps, to preserve it just as it is, leaving the work of the modern Vandals permanently on exhibition for the edification of neutrals and of future generations.

Reconstructing the Life of France

By WINIFRED STEPHENS

FAR from "awaiting panic-stricken the conqueror's coming," as German newspapers assert, the French are devoting every particle of energy left over from the life-and-death struggle in which we are all engaged to vigorous attempts to reconstruct their national life on a better basis. Space forbids me even to indicate how vast and varied were the schemes I heard discussed round Paris dinner tables while "Bertha" was busy at work and the great offensive at its most desperate moment. But in the intervals of talk about the unity of command and the likelihood of the enemy taking Amiens or marching into Paris, I gathered that many plans for social betterment are already being executed, and that they af-

fect all classes of men and of women, all districts of town and of country.

In urban districts one of the most promising is the opening of technical and commercial schools for the training of women who now play so prominent a part in French industrial life. Following England's example, and resulting from a deputation of French working women sent by the French Ministry of Munitions to England in 1916, a completely new branch of feminine activity has been opened up by the institution of factory welfare supervisors. In the Summer of 1917 a school was opened for their training. And already it has sent out to numerous factories and to the Ministry of War a band of well-equipped women, many of whom have

abandoned a brilliant professional career to devote themselves to this useful work.

French reformers are displaying an eager desire to benefit by the experience of allied countries. Constantly French deputations brave submarines and cross the Atlantic and the Channel in search of new ideas. It will not perhaps be divulging a secret if I say that the French Government is about to send a company of eminent French ladies to inspect certain war activities in England where they will be the guests of the Government. But it is over the fields of rural France that the fresh breeze of new life blows most vigorously. How little before the war France, the most completely agricultural of western countries, had done for her rural population must have struck all who in their French wanderings have strayed away from tourist beaten paths, away from the trim farms of the north, the cider orchards of Normandy, the rich vineyards of Touraine into the tumble-down hamlets, the untidy peasant holdings, and the depopulated villages of the south and of the eastern marches. Well might René Bazin entitle one of his novels "The Dying Countryside," (*la terre qui meurt*.)

This war is bringing home to Frenchmen how disastrous for their national life are the ignorance and materialism which too often prevail in the country. They began to realize it before the war, when in many rural districts the peasants' ignorant prejudice rendered impossible the administration of the Workmen's Annuity act. And now during these war days his readiness to give up his life for his country stands out in glaring contrast with his reluctance to give up his money for the same cause. He clings to his belief in the traditional stocking. In his own words, he thinks it safer to keep his francs in his pocket than to intrust them to a bank from which he may never live to take them out.

As well as the institution of land banks and the further development of co-operative farming I found that how to

raise the rustic to a loftier and a wider view of life was being eagerly discussed in serious Paris drawing rooms. One remedy above all seemed to recommend itself to every mind, no matter of what cast of opinion—Catholic, Protestant or Agnostic, Conservative, Radical or Socialist. All agree that something must be done to rival the attractions of the tavern (where the peasant is too prone to find his only relaxation) and to continue and supplement the teaching of the school.

There is a movement coming from various directions toward the establishment in each village—by the State if possible—of centres of culture and amusement. Called by various names, according to the school of social reformers which advocates them, "*Maisons pour Tous*," "*Maisons Communes*," "*Maisons du Peuple*," they all, by whomsoever advocated, aim at the same thing, at continuing under one roof, or at any rate within one inclosure, the numerous activities of the technical school, the maternity centre and crèche, public baths and wash houses, a free library, and a recreation ground or sports club. One well-known French lady, the mistress of an influential political salon, has had designed and published in a charming booklet, which has been widely circulated among members of Parliament, plans and pictures, as well as the estimated cost of a series of such houses, each one adapted to some special part of France.

Another French lady, a novelist and social worker, has gone further. In the hope that the State will follow the example set by private initiative, she has, with the help of an influential committee, rented a house and land in the department of la Creuse, where next month will be opened the first "*Maison du Peuple*."

The starting of such enterprises at such a moment is surely only second to that indomitable heroism the French are displaying at the front. Never so forcibly as in Paris during the last few weeks have I realized that they are indeed an invincible nation.

Appalling Cruelty to Prisoners

Forty Men in One Group Done to Death by Torture and Freezing

A member of the Royal Naval Division of Great Britain who was captured at Antwerp in 1914 arrived in England June 6, 1918, after escaping to a neutral country; he narrates an appalling story of German cruelty to British prisoners, as follows:

ON Feb. 25, 1917, British prisoners at Libau were told to march to Kelsen, thirty-six kilometers away. Uhlans urged us forward through the snow. Often we came to drifts which were waist deep, and any one who halted was prodded on by the Uhlans with their lances. In the ordinary way the thirty-six kilometers were two days' march in Winter for the German troops, but we were told we had got to reach our destination by that night.

On we went without food and without a halt. One man—A. Sawyer, R. N. D.—stumbled in the snow, and was at once charged by a Uhlan, whose lance entered his head just behind the ear. The Germans took no notice of the incident, with the result that the frost got into Sawyer's wound. Ninety men out of 200 collapsed on that march, and many others were bleeding from lance pricks. If a man fell out he was left, and he had to take his chance of a humane transport driver coming by and giving him a lift.

At the end of our journey we discovered that we were to be employed in the lines. For an hour and a half we were kept standing in the snow while Russian shells were bursting in the district. We were then told to go into a large cavalry tent, and found no sleeping accommodation except pieces of wood across which was stretched wire meshing. Those who had managed to keep their blankets during the march had covering, but many threw these away in order to keep up with their comrades.

Early the next morning we were aroused by the guards prodding us with bayonets and crying, "Get up." We were kept on parade, while orders were read out to us, according to which any man found smoking would be shot, and disobedience of orders would meet with death. We were told that the reason we had been brought there was that

the English had German prisoners working in their trenches and in the firing line, and it was intended that we should carry out the same work against the Russians until England had given a satisfactory reply about German prisoners. News had been brought to Germany by escaped prisoners that British sentries had foully murdered thirty-six German prisoners, and it had been decided that thirty-six out of the 500 men now there should die. Every man was given a prison number, and groups of three were formed, so that for the misdeeds of one of them all three were taken from the working parties at the end of the day, made to mount on a brick, were then tied to a pole, and the brick kicked away, leaving their feet a little way from the ground. In this position they were kept for two and a half hours each night for fourteen nights in intense cold.

Forty men died under this treatment, for when they were released they were like blocks of ice, and circulation had to be restored by their comrades. A man named Skit, Grenadier Guards, was shot in cold blood. He had collapsed in the snow, and the guard, making the remark, "You are no good any longer," shot him through the head. The body was left in the snow for three or four days. It was not until these forty men had died that we got any better treatment. During that time some men were found frozen in their beds. When men took their socks off their toes came away owing to frostbite. Our work necessitated our being in the most exposed portions of the German lines, and many were wounded by Russian snipers.

We were later transferred to a town in East Prussia, where I saw Rumanian prisoners who were eating grass and drinking water out of ditches. There were as many as forty deaths a day among them.

Switzerland an Oasis in Wartime

Cosmopolitan Life in Geneva

An English writer who was in Geneva and other Swiss cities in June, 1918, recorded his impressions in these words:

THIS pleasant oasis of peace and pastoral industry, surrounded on all sides by the tide of war, this unin-vaded place of refuge for all its flotsam and jetsam, seems at first too good to be true. One's first few days at Geneva, in particular, are obsessed by a haunting sense of unreality. One almost resents the tranquillity of the splendid mis-en-scène, the even tenor of the neutral's day, the cheerful social amenities of his evenings, when the festooned lights twinkle gayly over the Kursaal and along the Pont du Mont Blanc, and all the world and his wife, overflowing the wide pavement, take their beer and ices at the Café du Nord. These brilliantly lighted streets, crowded with placid and apparently prosperous citizens, who can watch the moon's silvery path upon the wine-dark waters of the lake without ever a thought of air raids, long-distance guns, or curfew regulations; all the ordered Old World regularity of civilization's business and pleasure; the strange lack of men in khaki and hospital blue, the absence of all the sights and sounds of war, which we belligerents have come to regard as normal; these groups of young, able-bodied men, exempted in the very midst of Europe's conflagration from the universal business of slaughter, all combine to induce a curious sense of transient illusion. You surrender yourself to enjoyment of the oasis and its mirage of unwonted sensations as if you were watching some midsummer's eve play with the critical spectator's sense of detachment. Indeed, there are moments when it seems incredible that one should thus be translated, by the simple expedient of a night's journey in a railway carriage, to a land where people have slept quietly in their beds o' night all through these four years of world-wide strife.

On Sunday, June 9, there was a gayly flagged regatta on the waterfront off

the Quai du Léman. Against the purple background of the Savoy shore little fleets of white sails were glancing and gleaming in the sun. Excursion steamers, crowded with good bourgeoisie en fête, came gliding past trim gardens and terraced hotels of the Quai du Mont Blanc, just as of old, with sounds of music and laughter. The most cosmopolitan and polyglot collection of humanity that Switzerland has ever entertained was taking its evening stroll and discussing its everlasting politics under the plane trees of the promenade. At the Café du Nord a remarkably good orchestra was playing light classical music, selected on strict principles of neutrality, to a crowd collected from all the four corners of the world at war—refugees, "macaques," deserters, réfractaires, men and women spies and political agents of various shades of respectability, Greeks, Turks, Russians, Rumanians, Armenians, and Poles, German Republicans and French pacifists, interned soldiers and civilians—and, over all, the Pax Helvetica, the strange peace of this neutral sanctuary.

An expert in local affairs counted thirty-two different races gathered around the little tables of the Café du Nord that evening: a very Cave of Adullam, a Parliament of rois en exil.

But these first impressions, this sense of blissful immunity from the chaos and devastation of war, wear off as one comes to look beneath the surface of things, to observe some of the many undercurrents that flow beneath its apparent placidity, to understand something of the dangers and difficulties with which Switzerland is confronted as the result of the conflict on her borders, and what it has cost her to preserve until now her neutrality, her means of subsistence, and her territory inviolate. The sense of immunity from the worst of war's horrors remains, and gradually one comes to accept it as a

grateful interlude of rational existence; but at the same time one realizes that the Swiss are bearing their share, and that no small one, of the world's heavy burden of trouble. This beautiful land that was Europe's playground of old, and is now her asylum and convalescent home, has fortunately escaped being drawn into the fray, but she has not escaped the worldwide menace of hunger, and she must face, like the belligerents, the necessity for reorganizing her national life and her principal industries to meet the new conditions that must arise when the world's armies cease from fighting and return to civil life. Indeed, being cut off from direct access to the sea, Switzerland's position has been, and still is, in some respects, one of peculiar difficulty and grave danger.

The lights and laughter of cosmopolitan Geneva and Lausanne are apt to obscure the newcomer's perception of the price which the Swiss people have paid, and are paying, for the maintenance of their pledges and principles and for the preservation of their humane and impartial neutrality. The part which the Swiss Government has had to play has frequently been misunderstood, because of failure to appreciate the risks and penalties involved in the maintenance of that neutrality, as well as its vital importance to Europe and to the future of civilization in its work of reconstruction. Similarly, the sacrifices which the Swiss people have made, not only at the call of

patriotism, but from motives of humanity, have not been fully appreciated. The more closely one studies the actual situation in Switzerland and the forces which there determine public opinion (which has a far more potent influence on national policy than in most modern democracies) the more devoutly must one hope that the Swiss people will be able to remain neutral to the end, and eventually, in a reconstructed Europe, to achieve their complete independence from all political interference and influence from beyond their borders.

There is one outward and visible sign of Switzerland's beneficent neutrality, however, which the Anglo-Saxon finds it difficult to accept with equanimity, no matter how long he may have been in the country—namely, the presence of Germans, and their reception on a footing of equality, in decent society. Say what you will, this goes against the grain. After all that has happened, after all that the world has learned of the real nature of the German, from his own thoughts, words, and deeds; remembering the things that they have done in Northern France, in Serbia, in Rumania, and, above all, in would-be neutral Belgium—one feels that there must be something wrong with a political code or creed that asks one to treat Germans as if they were still within the pale of civilization, to jog elbows with them in public places and show no sign of aversion or disgust.

Gas Masks for American Army Horses

The United States War Department announced at the beginning of June, 1918, that approximately 5,000 gas masks for horses were being turned out daily by the Gas Défensé Service and were being shipped to France. Every horse attached to the American Expeditionary Force was to be equipped with these masks as soon as possible. The new masks contain chemicals to neutralize all known gases that would affect horses, and can be placed securely on the heads of animals not wearing harness. This additional feature was made necessary by the fact that many horses had been lost because they were not wearing harness to which the masks could be attached when the gas came.

Poison Gas in Warfare

The Deadly Mustard Gas Now Employed—The Methods of Gas Training

By SHERWOOD EDDY

A cablegram was received July 12, 1918, by THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY, announcing that the American Army in France was receiving and using mustard gas shells in large quantities. The Germans had begun using this deadly type of poison gas in November, 1917, and it was employed with serious results before the Allies discovered the secret of producing it in large quantities. The method was at length found, and gas shells of this type were used by the Americans west of Château-Thierry on June 9, 1918, with great success. The following description of the action of this gas and of the methods employed to resist it appears in Mr. Eddy's book, "With Our Soldiers in France":

IN the training of the American soldiers in France, after the ceremonial parade, the men must pass through the deadly gas chambers, to be ready to meet the attack of the enemy fully prepared. More fatal than the prussic acid which the Prussian has occasionally employed is the deadly mixture of chlorine and phosgene which has been most commonly used. In a gentle favoring wind it is put over, invisible in the darkness, and if it catches the foe unprepared it can kill from ten to fifteen miles behind the lines. The mixture is squirted as a liquid from metal generators. It quickly forms a dense greenish-yellow cloud of poison vapor, which floats away in the darkness. Its success must depend on the element of surprise, taking the enemy unprepared and choking him, awake or asleep, in the first few moments before the horns, gongs, and whistles send the alarm for miles behind the trenches.

MUSTARD GAS

Recently a new so-called "mustard gas" has been used by the enemy with deadly effect, owing to the fact that it is both invisible and odorless. It is sent over in exploding shells, and sinks in a heavy invisible vapor about the sleeping men, creeping into their dugouts and trenches or enveloping them around the guns or in the shell holes. The effects do not manifest themselves for several hours. With stinging pain the man's eyes begin to close, and for a time he may

go almost blind. He is then taken violently sick. The surface of the lungs and the entire body, especially where it is moist with perspiration, is burned. The skin may blister and come off. Many cases have proved fatal and many more suffer cruelly for weeks in hospital.

With the men we attended a lecture on the nature of the various gases used by the enemy and the proper methods of meeting them. The lecture throughout was unconsciously couched almost in theological language. The instructor first disposed of what he called superstitious "heresies" concerning the gas, in order to prevent the men from having panic and "getting the wind up." There is a foolish rumor which says, "One breath and you are ruptured for life, or you fall dead the next morning," &c., but he warns the men of its deadly nature and tells them they are to be saved from its fatal effects by knowing the truth.

The instructor explains that if they take four deep breaths it will prove fatal: "One breath and you catch the first spasm, two and you are mad, three and you are unconscious, four and you are dead. If you keep your presence of mind and hold your breath, you will have six seconds to get on your gas helmet or respirator." The attack, remember, is a surprise in the dark; brain-splitting gas shells are dropping on all sides, and it is hard to keep cool and hold one's breath in the moment of sudden surprise and panic. We are told that there are fifteen

mistakes which are easily possible in getting on this complicated helmet, or if there is one big blunder in the sudden surprise the man is done for.

HOW THE MASK WORKS

Before going through the death chamber helmets are inspected to see that they are sound and unpunctured, and the men are drilled in the open to practice putting them on quickly. Suddenly the warning whistle of an imaginary gas attack sounds. One backward fling of the head and the steel helmet falls off, for there is no time to lift it off. A dive into the bag carried on the chest, and the respirator is grasped, and with one skillful swoop it is drawn over the face. Your nose is pinched shut by a clamp, your teeth grip the rubber mouthpiece, and, like a diver, you must now get your one safe stream of pure air through the respirator. You draw in the air from a tube which rises from a tin of chemical on your chest. Then you can breathe in the dense, deadly, greenish chlorine vapor, for as it passes through the respirator filled with chemicals it is absorbed, neutralized, oxidized, and purified into a stream of pure air. All about you may be choking fumes of death which would kill you in four seconds, yet you will be completely immune, breathing a purified atmosphere.

The soldiers are now marched up to this chamber of horrors to walk through the poison gas. Many have "the wind up," (i. e., they are afraid inside, but are ashamed to show it.) Reliance on the guide, the expert who has been through it all, and the sense of companionship, the stronger ones unconsciously strengthening the weak, have a steady effect upon all the men. The soldiers have had four hours' drill to prepare them, but the "padre" and I, who are now permitted to go through, have had but four minutes. I am trying to remember a number of things all at once. Above all, I must keep cool and assure myself that there is no danger if only I trust and obey what the expert has said.

IN THE GAS CHAMBER

I fling on the helmet and we start into the death chamber, but suddenly a string

is loose—will the respirator work? There seems to be something the matter with my nosepiece, which should be clamped shut. I would like to ask the instructor just one question to make sure, but I can no more talk than a diver beneath the sea. It is too late; we are moving; I can only hope and trust the helmet will hold.

We have left the sunlight and are in a long, dark, covered chamber, like a trench, groping forward and looking at a distant point of light through the dim goggles. We are alone in these deadly fumes; the instructor is not here; there is a tense silence, and all about us is the poison of death. Oh, what was that fourth point that I was to remember? Why has the guide turned back? I thought we were to go out at the further end, where last week the poor fellow fell who lifted his helmet a moment too soon after he got out and caught one whiff which sent him to the hospital, but instead we seem to be turning around and going back.

But there is no time for explanations or questions now; we just plod on through the darkness, and soon we are out in the sunlight again—safe!—in God's pure air. Oh, why did man ever want to pollute it and poison his brother with these deadly fumes of hell!

As a special favor the instructor allows us, without a mask, to take one swift look into the fumes as we hold our breath. That yellow-green chlorine will corrode the lungs and fill them with pus and blood. The phosgene is much more deadly and will strike the man down with sudden failure of the heart.

We were also sent through a chamber of the invisible "tear gas" without a mask. The object of this is to take away the fear of the gas from the men. This particular gas has no effect upon the lungs, but sends a stinging pain through the eyes, so that one weeps blindly for some minutes, and could not possibly see to shoot or to defend himself.

TRUTH ABOUT THE GAS

We are now ready to return to another lecture with more understanding. No wonder these tired boys under the heavy, hot steel helmets, which absorb the heat

of the scorching sun, are listening with all their ears, yet one or two fall asleep for very weariness and may again be caught napping by the enemy's poison gas up the line. The instructor is in dead earnest, for the life of every man during the coming conflict may depend upon his message. His words are still in my ears, for they were strangely like a sermon:

Men, I am going to tell you the truth about this deadly gas, and you must believe it, for your life will depend upon it. It can kill, and no doubt about it. But for every poison of the enemy there's an antidote, and we have found it. Your helmet is perfect, and you simply must believe in it, you must trust to it. We have made full provision for your safety. If you go under, it will be your own fault from one of four causes—unbelief, disobedience, carelessness, or fear. If you carelessly go without your helmet it means death. During an attack, after putting on the respirator, just stand and wait. There is nothing you can do for yourself except to keep your helmet on. Your skill, your strength are nothing. Now, if you are caught in an attack unawares, remember, if you're still alive at all, there's hope. Don't lose courage. If your confidence goes, you lose 90 per cent. of your defense, for the sole hope of the enemy in gas is surprise and panic. If you are gassed, don't move. Keep still, keep warm, don't worry, and wait. To move or try to save yourself will be fatal.

The enemy will put over three or four waves with a break between. The gas may come for some hours. To remove your helmet before the attack is over will be fatal. Within a quarter of an hour after the gas has ceased the charge of the enemy will come, and you must never let him get past your barbed-wire entanglements. After exposure to gas, all food, water, and wells are poisonous. The heavy gas must be expelled from the trenches by fans before the charge comes. Only remember, you must believe what I say—keep your helmet on in time of danger, and you are perfectly safe.

There is a vast difference between the warning and the preparatory exposure to the gas by your guide and the deadly sur-

prise of the enemy. The former is a trial to prepare you, the latter is an effort to destroy you. The whole experience was so obviously parallel to the deadly moral dangers which surround the soldier in wartime that it needs no comment. The one and only safety in the time of temptation is to put on the whole armor of God, especially the "helmet of salvation."

The writer has just come from a ward in the hospital filled with patients suffering from the new gas which the enemy has lately put over. It is, as we have said, invisible and odorless, so the men receive no warning and consequently do not put on their masks. They do not know that they are being gassed until hours afterward, when they find they are burned from head to foot.

Here are twenty men lying in this tent suffering from this new torture. This first boy, with a wan smile that goes right to your heart, can only whisper from his burned-out lungs and cannot tell us his story. The next man was taken with vomiting five hours after the gas shells exploded. Seven of his fourteen companions sleeping in the dugout were killed outright; the others were gassed. He lay unconscious for several days, and now his eyes and skin are burned as though he had passed through a fire.

The next boy is badly burned in his eyes and chest. Half the men of his battery were killed by gas while asleep at night. On the next cot is a boy who has been suffering for seventeen days; the burns on his body have been improving, his lungs also are better, but he is still blind and fears he may lose his sight. He asks me to write a letter for him to his mother. "Only," he says, "don't tell her about my eyes." Together we make up a cheerful letter, and the boy rests back on his cot to pray for his returning eyesight.

Methods of Using Mustard Gas

Major Gen. William L. Sibert was placed in charge of the Gas Division of the United States Army in May, 1918. Dr. Benjamin T. Brooks, Chief Chemist of a plant that is producing mustard gas under his supervision, describes its use and effects as follows:

The Germans are using two types of gas shells, those which explode by percussion and those which carry time fuses. Occasionally they drench a territory with shells, some of which have long-time

fuses and some short-time fuses, so as to effect the greatest possible concentration of gas in a given sector.

A question arises as to how the Germans can advance through territory they have subjected to this gas. If the territory is untenable for the Allies it is untenable for the Germans, too. That is why some persons wonder that they can make such great gains with it. We are likely to think of the battlefield as being a solid line, like the maps we see daily, with another line of trenches back of that. If the western front were a level plain, like an Illinois prairie, that would be fairly true of it, and gas would not be so useful for the Germans; but the situation actually is that there are certain strongly held posts, such as Kemmel Hill or Messines Ridge, around which the fighting centres. It is against such positions that the Germans have been using gas. They do not use it indiscriminately. And, once the Allies are forced by gas out of a strong position, they must fall back to others prepared in the rear. Maps are supplied to the German troops showing gassed areas, and in the advance they may avoid them until they are safe for occupancy.

One reason the mustard gas is so dangerous is that it seems so innocent. The smell is faint, and it is not especially disagreeable. The vapors from the liquid can be inhaled without any immediate discomfort. The effect has been called "chemical pneumonia." The symptoms

are similar—high fever, stertorous breathing, and sometimes stupor. Autopsies have shown that the effect of the gas on the lung tissues has been such that they break down like wet paper.

The chief danger of mustard gas is from contact. A soldier walking along a trench which has had a sprinkling of it rubs his shoulder, for instance, against the side of the trench, and a tiny drop gets on his coat. It looks like a drop of oil. It does not hurt the cloth. He is likely to pay no attention to it. It penetrates to the flesh, but only causes a slight smarting. It is not until hours later that the effects are apparent. Then the flesh becomes puffy and red; the tissue swells enormously. The effect is similar to a very deep burn—a burn of the third or fourth degree.

When a mustard gas shell explodes it throws a fine mist over a wide area. If it gets into a soldier's eyes, it blinds him. But our experiments have shown that it is not necessary to touch the eyes directly to cause blindness. The poison can be communicated through the tissue.

How little of the stuff is effective is illustrated by an experience of my own. [Dr. Brooks lifted a scarred and reddened right hand.] Several months ago, when I was making an experiment, some mustard gas got between two of my fingers. It was so little that it escaped notice. It was not until 9 o'clock that night that my hand began to look puffy. The next morning it was badly blistered.

Chemists and Chemistry in the War

By DR. P. CARRE

Professor of Industrial Chemistry in the Paris College of Commerce

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THE industrial struggle has become one of the principal factors of the war, exacting an ever-increasing production of war materials, and especially of munitions. Munitions are no longer limited, as in former times, to powder and other explosives; they include numerous chemical products with poisonous, asphyxiating, corrosive, tear-producing, and even sneeze-provoking

qualities. Thus industrial chemistry has assumed a preponderating place in the conflict. Each belligerent is making continuous efforts to increase its chemical means of offensive warfare; each is constantly searching for some new substance more aggressive than those already in use, and the discovery of such a substance necessitates an immediate and rapid study on the opposing side for an

effective means of protection. Here is a vast field of action calling for the inventive faculties of the greatest chemists in both groups of warring nations.

GERMANY'S 30,000 CHEMISTS

The number of German chemists is estimated at about 30,000. This large number, along with the advanced status of chemical industry in Germany, has enabled the Central Empires to grapple with the gravest problems. Some of these problems, indeed, were of unquestioned importance for them. Such, for example, was the synthetic manufacture of nitric acid and of ammonia, which are important both for military and for agricultural purposes. Nitrates, which came, until a few years ago, solely from natural deposits in Chile, are indispensable in making explosives and very useful in agriculture; ammonia, largely used in farming, serves also in the manufacture of synthetic nitric acid.

In order to obtain a quick solution of such questions our enemies immediately placed all the necessary chemists at the disposition of their experts and factories. One German expert, the inventor of one of the processes for the synthetic manufacture of ammonia, has 200 chemists in his laboratory.

Results were not long in coming. In the midst of the war the Germans succeeded in manufacturing synthetic ammonia and nitric acid in enormous quantities, thus supplying the place of natural nitrates, which the blockade prevented their importing from Chile, and enabling them to continue the manufacture of high explosives. They expect to become masters of the world's nitrogen markets after the war.

POISON GAS AS A WEAPON

It was doubtless their confidence in their chemical superiority that led them to institute a new means of offensive, that of gas attacks, and of bombardment with toxic, lachrymal, and corrosive shells.

Without the development achieved by their chemical and metallurgical industries the Central Empires would have been unable to resist so long on the west-

ern front, nor could they have won so easy a success on the eastern front against an enemy much more numerous but less well armed; neither could Turkey and Bulgaria have played so effective a rôle in the war. It is no exaggeration to say that these results are due in large part to the German chemists.

The importance of chemistry is so great that Germany is trying to attract her ablest men to this field. In December, 1916, she created the Liebig prizes with a view to enabling young chemists, after their graduation from the high schools, to extend their knowledge in this field without pecuniary cares. These Liebig prizes, for which a first subscription among industrial concerns netted 1,020,000 marks, (\$255,000,) are awarded to young chemists who, in the opinion of their professors, are above the average of ability.

Thanks to this careful selection and utilization of her chemists, Germany has been able to solve a great number of problems created by the blockade, and she hopes to preserve after the war the same chemical preponderance that she held before it began.

CHEMICAL RESOURCES OF ALLIES

Chemical industry in England seems to have been one of the first to command attention. Under the leadership of their learned societies, such as the Institute of Chemistry, the chemists were enrolled in the laboratories and factories of the State, especially in the arms and munitions factories. The chemists in this service have received the rank of officers. A special course of instruction for the preparation of specialists was also established.

The English example seems to have been followed by Italy. The principle adopted by the Italian Government since 1916 is very simple. All persons possessing certain university diplomas are compelled, under pain of imprisonment, to declare the fact. They then receive a rapid course of military instruction, after which they are commissioned as Sub-Lieutenants. Among the officers a class of technical specialists is being organized. The personal records of all the

chemical officers are sent to the Ministry of Armament, which assigns the officers to suitable service.

A central committee of industrial mobilization has been established at Rome; it is subdivided into regional committees, to which the technological and military inspectors are attached. There is established in each factory a technical hierarchy which adjusts the differences arising between the professional and military authorities; thus one does not find any head of a factory giving orders to an engineer of higher military rank.

WHAT AMERICA HAS DONE

In the United States the importance of chemistry in the war was so fully realized that in March, 1917, a month before the declaration of war, the enrolling and organizing of the nation's chemists was begun. This work was done by the great chemical societies—the American Chemical Society, the American Electro-Chemical Society, and the American Institute of Mining Engineers—under the direction of an eminent scientist, Charles Lathrop Parsons, Secretary of the American Chemical Society and Director of Chemical Service in the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior. Among the 16,000 chemists in the United States it thus became a simple matter to distinguish those who could be mobilized, and these were joined voluntarily by the nonmobilizable class.

Measures for assigning and utilizing these chemists were studied by a technical committee organized for that purpose. It was decided to create a civilian office of invention—the National Researches Council—divided into sections to correspond with the different branches of chemistry. Each section is headed by a specialist, who has at his disposal as many scientists as he needs; these are recruited from both the mobilizable and volunteer lists. A special gas service, with a military staff, was created in the Bureau of Mines; the chemists for this were recruited as above, and were given rank as officers in accordance with their titles and records. In like manner the chemical materials for the war were placed in the hands of a group headed

by a staff of officers selected from the chemists.

War industries were allowed to keep all their chemists, except a few of the youngest; these were sent into the military chemical service and replaced by volunteers from Mr. Parsons's list. Shortly after the arrival of the first American contingents in France a new unit was attached to General Pershing's staff under the name of the Chemical Section of the National Army; this chemical unit is to serve the General in Chief in an advisory capacity regarding all chemical points relating to the war; it will transmit to the chemical section in America all information relating to chemical war problems.

In order that the section in France may most effectively aid the studies of experts in the United States, Dr. W. N. Walker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has been placed, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, at the head of a service charged with the unification and co-ordination of questions to be examined. This service, with headquarters in France, has at its command vast laboratories and a large number of scientists. The wise division of labor just described, along with the rational utilization of the nation's technical personnel, has already enabled the United States to do effective work in the chemical war.*

Statistics from the period preceding the war show that there were in France only about 2,500 chemists. Many of these are still young men; not more than 1,000 have passed the age of 35 years. Of the total about 1,400 have been mobilized, 800 being employed in powder and munitions factories, or other war industries; 400 are in the army, and 200 have fallen on the field of honor.

*The most valuable result of the mobilization of chemical experts in the United States was the emancipation of the textile, paper, and cognate industries from the domination of German dyemakers. Such extraordinary progress was made in the dye industry that within the current year all demands, largely augmented by the war, for dyes have been met by domestic manufacturers, with a surplus for exportations, which has become a considerable factor in American foreign commerce.—EDITOR.

British Statesmen on War Problems

An Economic League of Twenty-four Nations to Govern Trade After the War

By LORD ROBERT CECIL

British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Minister of Blockade

I HAVE been much interested in the series of addresses and discussions at the recent meetings of commercial associations in the United States, such as the Chambers of Commerce and the Foreign Trade Council, regarding trade after the war. The tone of these discussions seems to show clearly a desire for settled arrangements for mutual help between all the nations now associated in the war against Germany. These are also our feelings in Britain, and I should like to make some acknowledgment of these recent utterances of prominent American commercial men by trying to describe roughly the state of British policy at this moment in regard to such matters.

The resolutions of the Paris Economic Conference have been much discussed during the last two years. When they were written we had an alliance of eight nations, six of whom had suffered the immediate ravages of war. The world outside, including the United States with its vast resources, was neutral, and nominally, at any rate, the neutral world at the conclusion of peace would have sold its products where they would have fetched most money. To borrow the plain words of the recent Interallied Labor Conference, all these vast resources would have gone to those who could pay most, not to those who would need most, so the Paris conference was a defensive agreement of those then engaged in the war to secure their own peoples against starvation and unemployment during the period of reconstruction, and to provide for the restoration to economic life of the ravaged territories of Belgium, Poland, Serbia, France, and Italy.

These objects retain all their old importance. They are simple measures

of self-preservation. It is, for example, still essential that we should forestall the aggressive efforts of the Central Powers to use their money power to snatch on the morning after the war the raw materials needed for the reconstruction of the peoples in the western and eastern theatres of war whom they have themselves despoiled.

LEAGUE ALREADY FORMED

But, while the essential needs of ourselves and of the nations which are fighting with us the battle of liberty and justice remain unaltered, the alliance of eight has expanded into the association of twenty-four nations, of which President Wilson spoke in his recent address to the Red Cross. It is no longer a question of forming some narrow defensive alliance, but of laying down the economic principles of the association of nations which is already in existence, and to membership of which we are committed.

What are these principles to be? The President has stated them in memorable words. On Jan. 8 he advocated "the removal so far as possible of all economic barriers, and the establishment of an equality of trade among all the nations consenting to peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

On Dec. 4 he had already defined the qualifications for membership in this association of nations in words the wisdom and importance of which have been rendered doubly evident by all we know of the policy of domination, exploitation, and exclusiveness introduced by Germany into all her peace treaties and forced by her upon her allies. In that speech he considered what would be the situation if the German people "should still,

after the war was over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world," and pointed out that it might then be impossible to admit them either "to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace," or "to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace."

To these declarations we give our warmest assent. But do these declarations necessarily mean that we—the associated nations—are to have no protective tariffs and no international competition in trade after the war? No. Every one is agreed as to that. In the words of the program of the Interallied Labor Conference, "the right of each nation to the defense of its own economic interests, and, in face of the world shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation of a sufficiency of foodstuffs and materials, cannot be denied."

OBJECTS STATED

Each member of the association of nations may have to protect its citizens in one way or another after the war, but our aim must be a comprehensive arrangement of liberal intercourse with all members of the association by which each one of us, while preserving his own national security, may contribute to meet the needs and aid in the development of his fellow-members. Nor, of course, can our arrangement for mutual assistance exclude all competition, though we are most anxious that co-operation should be the keynote of our commercial relations. Our feelings in this matter cannot be better described than in the words of James A. Farrell to the Foreign Trade Council, namely:

The sacrifices that are being cheerfully endured today by men engaged in foreign commerce in the necessary curtailment of their business through the conservation of shipping are an earnest of the elevation of method and of purpose which will control the conduct of our external trade in the future.

There is but one obstacle to this economic association of nations. That obstacle is Germany—the Germany de-

scribed by President Wilson in the words which I have already quoted—a Germany living "under ambitious and intriguing masters." You have seen the provisions of her commercial treaties in the East, and with all the groups of peoples from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. Her economic policy toward these groups is absolutely contrary to our principles. That policy began by systematic and lawless plundering in Poland, in the Ukraine, and elsewhere. Now everywhere she has legalized this plunder by placing the weaker nations under onerous commercial tribute to herself.

On Lithuania she has imposed her coinage. From Rumania and the Ukraine she has exacted a guarantee of supplies irrespective of their own needs, and at flagrantly unjust rates of compensation. She has appropriated the natural resources of Rumania in the form of a lease to German corporations. On Russia, Finland, and the Ukraine she has imposed unfair and one-sided tariff arrangements. The people of Finland, in fact, find now that their liberties have been bartered away in an agreement signed secretly in Berlin, and it is actually being proposed that thousands of Finns should be deported to work for German masters.

GERMANY EXCLUDED

Having established control over the Dardanelles and the Baltic, Germany has now brought under her own control the third great highway of European trade—the Danube—by destroying the International Commission which had long become an established organ of European polity, and now, in order that there may not be any mistake as to the significance of these acts, her Foreign Minister has declared that this Rumanian treaty in particular will be made the precedent and foundation for the economic terms to be demanded by the Central Powers at the general peace. The significance of this declaration is evident from Kühlmann's own words, that "the damages Rumania will have to pay will amount to very considerable sums in the long run, sums which perhaps do not very substantially differ

from that which might presumably have been obtained by officially demanding a war indemnity."

Economic independence and free choice are the last things which Germany will ever allow to the peoples within her reach. So long as this is the policy of Germany, how can we admit her to membership in the free association of nations to which we already belong? Before she can claim rights for herself she must convince us that she acknowledges and will respect the rights of others. Before we can offer her any participation in our resources she must release her victims from the economic slavery that she has imposed upon them. While the war continues we must take as measures of war all the steps required to destroy the economic basis of her military effort.

When peace is restored the place of Germany in the commonwealth of nations will be determined by the test established by President Wilson. If she abandons her old ways and her restless and aggressive policy, if she ceases to

use economic policies as a preparation for further war, we shall not be slow to recognize the change. The sacrifices for which this war has called are too great and too bitter to permit of our neglecting the President's warning that a complete change of mind and purpose in her Government are the necessary preliminaries to her admission to participation in our economic partnerships.

Neither the United States nor the British Empire has pursued or will pursue any selfish policy. The preoccupations of our internal reconstruction will never blind us to the obligations which we owe to our associates or limit the fullness and frankness of our discussions with them. There must be no jealousy between us, and no suspicions. I hope the time is not far off when we shall meet round the council board to discuss in detail the economic association which will combine the resources of the civilized world in the joint work of reconstruction and the restoration of prosperity.

London, July 14, 1918.

Britain's Imperial Hopes Realized

One Result of the War

On the occasion of the Parliamentary reception to the Overseas Premiers in attendance on the Imperial Cabinet at London, June 21, 1918, the British Premier, Lloyd George, referred to the rally of the British Dominions to the Motherland as follows:

THERE are legends in history, striking legends, of children that turned on their parents in the hour of tribulation. One of the greatest stories of the ages henceforth will be the story of a motherland, "beset by cruel foes," whose children rushed from the ends of the earth to shield her with their sturdy strength. We are always glad to see our kinsmen from beyond the seas, but they must notice a special warmth in our greeting and reception since the war. For the old country is grateful to them, and the old country is proud of them. They have come here to take part in a great Council of Empire, of an empire which is the most wonderful federation

of human beings that the world has ever seen.

I had the privilege of presiding over the first Imperial War Cabinet. Sitting around the table you found the representatives of over 400,000,000 human beings. Most of the great races and the great faiths of the world were represented. It was an aggregation of many great nations through their representatives to concert the best methods of establishing right and justice on the earth. A fine start for an imperial conference. In this war the British Empire has disappointed its foes, steadily, bitterly, angrily. Let us be quite candid. It has also surprised its friends. Think of what it has achieved.

Think of what would have happened had it not been there. It has held the seas for ourselves and for our allies. I am not in the least depreciating the value of the assistance we have had from the fleets of France, Italy, Japan, and America. But they will all admit that the main burden of the task has fallen on Britain. In the early days of the war the British fleet cleansed the seas of the craft of the foe, and when a new and more terrible danger assailed us, the deadlier and darker peril that glides under the surface of the water, the British fleet in the main dealt with that.

There is nothing in the history of sea warfare to compare with the resource, the skill, the daring, the way the British Navy, the British mariner, has fought and conquered these naval sharks who have infested the high seas. But we knew that we had a great navy. That is an old romance. It is true. Its last chapters have not yet been written. And not merely is the interest sustained, but the fascination of the tale grows from chapter to chapter. It is an old story, the story of the British fleet.

But what we have done on land as an empire is something new, not merely in the history of our own empire, but in the history of any empire that has ever existed. There has been nothing quite like the British Empire, and nothing in the least like what it has accomplished during the last four years. Britain had a small army. I think it was about the size of the Bulgarian Army. The dominions had hardly an army at all. The United Kingdom, including those in arms when war was declared, has raised nearly six millions of men for sea and land. The dominions, with nothing like the same population, the nearest of them thousands of miles away from the scene of the conflict, could not hear the guns throbbing as you can hear them from our shores—they have raised a million men. Germany expected to meet raw levies, brave enough, but easily swept and scattered away by her highly trained, highly disciplined legions. Instead of that they have encountered and defeated Germany's proudest warriors

in a hundred fights, and have—for three months yesterday—baffled the carefully prepared plans of Prussia's greatest Generals, and held back the gigantic hordes of her most seasoned warriors. It is a great achievement.

Germany thought India was seething with discontent, and that when the hour of trouble came to the British Empire India would absorb and not add to our strength. India has raised, voluntarily, every man a volunteer, including the small force she had before the war, nearly 1,000,000 men, and she is about to raise another half million. They have been guarding the approaches to the British Empire. They are guarding them today, and they will continue to guard them to the end.

This war has taught us many lessons, and no lesson more striking than the lesson of the reality of the power of the British Empire. What would have happened to the world had the might of the British Empire not been a fact, and had it not been thrown into this conflict? Russia out of the conflict, America not in last year, and Germany commanding the seas, international right would have been trampled upon, and military despotism would have triumphed throughout the world. The Kaiser has proclaimed to the world that God gave Hindenburg and Ludendorff to him and to Germany. I wonder who gave the British Empire to his enemies. You can easily find it out if you will only ask some learned divine to tell you who planted in the heart of men wrath against injustice and love of freedom. It is these divine passions that have raised the British Empire from north to south, from the Far East to the Far West, in one brotherhood of arms against the deeds and the designs of Prussian despotism.

The reality and the strength of the bonds that unite the British Empire have been underestimated by every one. The Germans thought they were paper ties that would shrink and scorch into black dust at the first flash of the fires of war. They were mistaken. In life the most real, the most intimate ties are the invisible ones. Here you have the

ties of language, of race, of blood, of common origin. But the most potent ties of all were the ties of common aims, common sympathies, and common ideals. They have stood the strain, they have drawn us closer together, and it

ought to be the purpose of all statesmanship to strengthen those bonds and defend and protect them against severance. All that is best in the world is safer today for the existence of the British Empire.

The Final Phases of the War

By HERBERT H. ASQUITH

Former Premier of Great Britain

[IN AN ADDRESS AT A LUNCHEON GIVEN IN HIS HONOR AT LONDON, JUNE 14, 1918]

SINCE the last week in March the enemy has been making serious progress along the greater part of the whole of the western battlefield. Against superior numbers, and fighting for the most part under unfavorable conditions, both strategic and tactical, the allied troops have stubbornly contested every mile of the advance, and where they have been forced back their retirement has not been marked by a single trace of panic or demoralization. It has been conducted with a coolness and gallantry and with an unfailing readiness to take advantage of every opportunity of counterattack which have never been surpassed, if they have ever been equaled, in the annals of warfare. French, American, and British have shown the same tireless tenacity, the same spirit of loyal and helpful comradeship, rivals only in their devotion to the common cause and in their appreciation of one another's efforts and sacrifices. But the tide of invasion is not yet stemmed, and if we try, as we ought, to picture in imagination what our case would be if the enemy were as near to London as he is today to Paris we shall be better able to measure the perils and anxieties of our gallant allies, though nothing can measure our admiration for their steadfast tranquillity and their unshaken faith.

I do not attempt—it would be folly to do so—to make any forecast of the impending strategic developments. I will only remind you that we have seen once before, near the beginning of the war, a situation of equal gravity in which a threat, a most formidable threat, which seemed on the point of being realized,

was turned aside and brought to nothing by a counterstroke of genius and audacity. But whatever may be the immediate issue of this phase of the campaign, I wish to say here and now, while it is still in doubt, I wish to say emphatically and decisively that it is not going in the faintest degree to weaken our allegiance to the great purposes for which we have been fighting or our determination, through foul as much as through fair weather, to press on to the final accomplishment. But I am not resorting when I say that to the rhetoric of bravado, as I will endeavor, if you will follow me for a few moments, to prove.

As the war has developed it has been realized by all thinking men that it has a far wider range of significance than could have been foreseen or even imagined when it first began. It arose, so far as we here are concerned, in the violation of treaty obligations and the contemptuous setting aside of the rights of the smaller nationalities in the European order. But it soon became apparent that higher and deeper issues than these were at stake, which, according as they were decided in one sense or the other, would affect the whole future of civilization. It took time, as the contest swayed this way and that, to discern through the smoke and the poisoned fumes of the battlefield the true character and the ultimate aims of the forces that are arrayed against one another.

The Germans have made it more and more clear, not only through their spokesmen in the press and elsewhere, but through the object lessons which they have given to the world in the

Ukraine and Rumania, that the triumph of their cause would be the deathknell of all democratic ideals. And at the same time their new methods of warfare, at first incredible and, indeed, inconceivable, have demonstrated that for the attainment of that end they hold themselves absolutely free to dispense with the old restraints, whether of honesty or of humanity. It was the realization of these things and of the consequences which followed from them—that not merely local but worldwide interests, moral as well as material, were in jeopardy—that led our American kinsmen to decide that they could not hold aloof from the struggle.

But that is still not a complete account of the case. The allied cause is now plainly seen by all men to have what by implication it had from the first—a positive as well as negative purpose. Its aim is not merely to repel aggression, to vindicate public faith, to clip the wings of militarism, to defeat the ambitions and frustrate the designs of what the Germans call their world polity. It recognizes that old diplomatic machinery, however honestly and skillfully worked, like chain armor and wooden battleships, has had its day, and that it must very soon take its place among the things which have an interest for collectors and dealers in antiquities. It is determined to provide against a recurrence of the horrors which are scourging mankind and devastating the world, not merely by repression and punishment, but by bringing into life and into effective action the corporate judgment, the sense of common interests and common duties, the reconciling, and, if need be, the restraining and constraining forces of the whole family of nations.

These, stripped of what is transient and superficial, are the features that, measured by the true scale of significance, show the real stature of the two causes now engaged in mortal strife. Was I not right when I said a few moments ago that their fortunes cannot hang on the result of a single battle or even of a single campaign? There is none of us in this room, in this country, in this empire, who does not pray for

peace as the world's paramount need. But the only peace worth the making or the taking is one which will open a new road, free of toll, to all peoples, whether great or small, safeguarded by the common will, and, if need be, by the common power, for the further progress of humanity.

This is not the moment to enlarge on the contribution we here have made and are making for the common cause. I suppose that, from first to last, the British Empire has raised an army, including the labor units, of not less than 7,000,000 of men, and before many weeks are over the Parliament of the United Kingdom will have voted war credits which approach to £7,000,000,000. Figures like these, impressive and even astounding as they are, afford, as you know well, no real measure either of our efforts or of our sacrifices. What we have done and suffered has not been for selfish objects, or even, except very partially and indirectly, in self-defense. There is no one among us—and I suppose there are hardly any who have not contributed their share—who grudges what he has given. We owe it to those who were the real resources of the present and the hope and promise of the future that, so far as in us lies, we shall insure that when history comes to sum up the account its judgment will be that we have neither wasted without result what has been lost, nor diverted what still remains to less worthy and fruitful and honorable purposes.

What, then, is our duty at the present moment? What are the faculties that we most need? Courage, of course, and patience—the courage that can face facts and cannot only dare but endure; patience that cannot be driven from its equipoise by any alternations either of hope or of fear. These are, to quote Burke's epithet, "the inbred qualities of our race."

But let me suggest, before I conclude, one or two ways in which they may be helped and fortified. In the first place, let us be able to feel, whatever comes or goes, that we know the truth and the whole truth. No one realizes more clearly than I—who was answerable for the

country entering into the war, and for nearly two and a half years for its conduct—the delicacy of the task of determining what at any given moment ought to be disclosed and what ought to be kept back. The considerations which often make for economy and reserve of statement are obvious and manifold—the danger of giving useful knowledge to the enemy—perhaps we are rather apt to exaggerate it—the legitimate susceptibility of allies, the risks of alienating sympathy, or perhaps of arousing suspicion, in this or that neutral country. But in my judgment we have reached a stage of the war when far more is to be gained than is to be lost by laying before our own people all the actualities, be they favorable or adverse, of an unexampled situation. The British people, not only here at home but throughout the length and breadth of the empire, are ready to face, not only with a clean conscience but with clear eyes and with cool nerves, any and every conjuncture of circumstances.

There are, I know, those who think that the long strain of the war, despite its glorious and inspiring examples of heroism and devotion, has, in some quarters, impaired people's steadiness of judgment.

I do not believe this to be the least true of the nation as a whole or

of any considerable section of it. The atmosphere of war always provides opportunities for the cruder and cheaper forms of sensation mongering, which find a ready market among people of low intelligence and high credulity. [Doubtless an allusion to the scandalous statement, at the trial of an actress, that the Germans had a list of 47,000 Englishmen addicted to private vices.] The danger, if there be danger, does not, believe me, lie in that direction. But there is a real risk which, in my opinion, we ought to guard against, in the stress of the daily and hourly bulletins regarding doubtful battles, and here and there, and now and again, the yielding of ground, that we may be tempted to lose our sense of proportion. We must take large views, backward and forward, and seek to measure events as they occur, not by the dust and noise which for the moment they create, but by their real and lasting significance. There is no reason, there never was less reason, why the voice of honest and patriotic criticism should be hushed into silence, but let us keep our eyes fixed and our hearts set on the great dominating purposes to which we have deliberately consecrated the resources and the energies of the empire, with an unwavering faith, both in the worthiness of our aims and in the certainty that they will be achieved.

The Basis of Peace

Address by ARTHUR J. BALFOUR

THE speech of Foreign Secretary Balfour referred to by the German Chancellor in the preceding pages was delivered in Parliament June 20, 1918, in reply to the demand of a Labor member that the Allies restate their war aims and explain the secret treaties among the Allies. In his speech the Foreign Secretary expressed the following views:

From beginning to end the animating motive of this country and of the Governments in which, from time to time, this country has placed its trust, has been to carry out those general principles the application of which moved us in the first

days and hours of the war. If the honorable member goes further and says that had the nation at large realized in 1914 what the German passion for domination meant, had they studied German utterances, then I go some distance with him. There were, indeed, people in this country who warned the country of what the German desire for expansion really meant, but we, as a nation, are slow to believe that other nations can be animated by motives which are so widely separated from those which move our own people. Those writers were known, no doubt, to a few, but they were not even by those few regarded as always representative, and it was not until the matter had been studied in the light of events and with a

care which it was never thought worth while to give them before that it was brought home to the conviction of every student, except the honorable member and those who sit beside him, that this war is no accidental and unhappy episode, that it was the inevitable, or the almost inevitable, result of German ambitions, and that it was absolutely inevitable unless the development, economic and military, of Germany, in the course of years, did not enable her to get all the fruits of victory without bloodshed and war.

It is perfectly clear to any one who looks back on the history of the last thirty or forty years that the ambitions of the whole of the intelligent, military and governing, classes in Germany were of a kind which were directed to world domination, and that if world domination could not be got by peaceful means, it must be got by war, utterly indifferent to all the horrors which war produces.

Of course, they made a great miscalculation. They thought that the objects of the war—this European domination which was to carry with it other dominations—could be attained after a struggle which at the most would last a year. It might easily have been so, but happily for mankind it has not been so. How anybody can make the speech that the honorable member has made this afternoon and suggest that it is we who sit on this bench and those gentlemen who sit on the opposite bench who have by our stupidity, our blindness, our indifference to human suffering, and our imperialistic ambitions been the people who, if we did not start the contest, have at all events continued it, and are now responsible for its continuance—how any one can hold that view utterly passes my comprehension.

NO SERIOUS OFFERS

The honorable member has made his usual survey of the suggestions of peace which have from time to time been made by the Central Powers. Is there one of those cases in which the sober historian would ever see the basis of a possible peace? Is there any likelihood that these suggestions, such as the Emperor of Austria's letter and the other transactions to which the honorable member referred, were made with a view to obtaining that sort of peace which even the honorable gentleman himself could regard as a reasonable peace, carrying with it some prospect of security for the future liberties of the world? We have never rejected any proposals which we thought had the slightest probability of producing the sort of peace which most of us, and I hope all of us, desire. There is no evidence whatever that the German Government

have ever been serious in making such offers of peace.

I have more than once referred to Belgium, though I always do so with some hesitation lest honorable gentlemen should run away with the idea that, in my judgment, the restoration of Belgium would by itself give all that we ought properly to ask for as a result of the war. The case for Belgium is merely an example. It is a good example of German methods. The treatment of Belgium is and remains the greatest blot upon German honor and German humanity. German honor and German humanity, I think, have been violated in many parts of the world, but Belgium stands out as the great and unanswerable proof of what it is that the German Government will do if they think that any military advantage is to be got by it. Have the German Government ever openly and plainly said in any document or in any speech that Belgium is to be given up, that Belgium is to be restored, that Belgium is to be placed in a position of absolute economic as well as political independence? I know of no such statement. It has been suggested that Belgian territory should be restored, and there have been other suggestions of one kind or another, but you will never find any frank avowal that Belgium, having been taken by one of the most iniquitous acts of which history has record, is to be put back so far as the perpetrators of the crime are concerned as far as possible in the position in which she was before the crime was committed. * * *

"SECRET TREATIES"

The Allies are prepared to listen collectively to all reasonable arrangements. Certainly his Majesty's Government are not going to shut their ears to anything that can be called a reasonable suggestion. If such a suggestion was made which met with the approval of the Allies collectively, does the honorable gentleman really suppose that the fact that three years ago, or whenever it may have been, they took a different view would stand in the way of accepting this reasonable suggestion? Of course it would not. Any proposal to the Allies will be considered by the Allies on its merits. The so-called secret treaties were entered into by this country with other members of the alliance, and to these treaties we stand. The national honor is bound up with them. * * *

So far as we are concerned, we are bound by the Italian treaty, and we mean to hold by it. But it is a profound error to suppose that the time will come when the British Government, surveying the whole situation, and the Italian Govern-

ment, surveying the whole situation, will find themselves in this position: The British Government saying, "I think you ought to make peace in spite of this treaty," and the Italian Government saying, "There is the treaty, and we mean to hold to every word of it." When the time comes the treaty may be a proper instrument to carry out in every detail. What I say is that, whatever judgment may be come to, when the time comes, by the British Government is probably the judgment which the Italian Government would share to the full, and the judgment made by the Italian Government is the judgment which the English Government would share to the full. I have no reason to think that in the future, any more than in the past, there will be any divergence between the Allies for carrying on this war. If it should turn out that, in the common interest of the Allies as a whole, treaties made some years ago should require modification, I do not know whether a modification will be made by the Italians themselves. It rests with them; they are our ally, and we are bound to them, and we mean to keep to the full to the bargain we have made. * * *

PEACE TRAPS

So far as I am able to judge, what the Central Powers mean to do in the way of peace is not to propose reasonable terms to the alliance as a whole, but to select some member of the alliance to offer terms which may prove extremely tempting to that member of the alliance, if it considers only its own obvious and immediate interests, and not to the alliance as a whole, and in that way to disintegrate the members of the alliance, some of whom would, of course, be perfectly helpless taken in isolation, but would be quite strong as long as they are united. I do not blame the Central Powers for making such attempts; the people I blame are those who fall into the trap, and the people I blame most of all are those who, like the honorable gentleman opposite, appear to think it almost criminal not to fall into the trap. As far as I can make it out, his criticism is that we went to war for Belgium and France, and that if Belgium and France are satisfied why should we think of Italy? That spirit is a fatal spirit, because you might change it round, and you might say to Italy, "You are bound by the alliance, very good terms are offered to you, why do you bother about anything else?" You cannot work

an alliance on those terms. The only terms on which you can work an alliance are those of mutual confidence and mutual trust, and the only way you can have mutual confidence and mutual trust is by being open and above board with those with whom you are working. * * *

All of us (the Government) think that no conclusion can be honorable or satisfactory which makes it perfectly plain that the peace is only a truce. All of us are desirous of seeing, as far as may be, that the wishes of the populations of the world shall meet with their due satisfaction. All of us are anxious to see that whatever arrangements may be come to at the peace conference, whenever the peace conference takes place, shall be of such a kind as to leave as few of those eternal causes of friction and jealousy which divide small nations even more than they divide big nations, and shall by removing those causes of jealousy give greater security for the future peace of the world than any mere treaties can ever give. To that rearrangement of territory or of constitution, supplemented, as I hope it will be, by a league of nations for the enforcement of peace, to those two changes in the international constitution of the world I look forward as the real security of peace.

We shall never get that peace, and we shall never deserve to get that peace, if we listen to the counsels given to us by the honorable gentleman who has just sat down, if we fail to look facts in the face, if we fail to see what German ambitions really mean, what German statesmen are really driving at, and what it is they are determined to have. Unless we face that fact we are only deceiving ourselves and heaping up, if not for ourselves at least for our immediate successors, a repetition of horrors unequalled in the history of the world, and who feels the horrors of war more than those who are responsible for its conduct? On whom does the burden of this dreadful expenditure of blood and treasure weigh most heavily? How can it weigh more heavily on any man or set of men than those on this bench? We passionately desire an honorable peace, and as time goes on we are more and more convinced that that peace can only be attained by struggling to the end, to see that we do not leave it in the power of any nation such as Germany to cause a repetition of the evils under which the whole civilized community of nations, whether in the Old World or the New, is helplessly groaning.

Canada's War Achievements

By SIR ROBERT BORDEN

Prime Minister of Canada

[FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE PARLIAMENTARY SUPPER TO THE IMPERIAL WAR CABINET, JUNE 21, 1918]

A YEAR ago we had enlisted in Canada for this war something more than 400,000 men. Today we have enlisted considerably more than 500,000 men. During the past 12 or 14 months more than 100,000 men have joined the colors in Canada. Our forces in France—I may not tell you their number, but I may at least tell you this—that we have 35,000 more men in France to-day than we had when I left these shores last year. Today there are more than 385,000 men of the Canadian expeditionary force who have crossed the ocean, and they are still coming. In addition to that, we have sent into the air service during the past 3½ years of war 14,000 men, and to the naval services and the reserves of various nations we have contributed from the manhood of Canada at least 35,000 men. I am able to tell you tonight that the man power of Canada has furnished to the military and naval forces of the empire and the Allies not less than 425,000 men.

I am proud of what the Canadian forces have done in this war. I am proud of what all the forces of the empire have done. We in Canada are as proud of what Australia and New Zealand have done as we are of what the men of these islands and Canadians have done. I should tell you that of the 385,000 men who have sailed from Canada not less than 175,000 were born within these islands and had come to Canada. The effort has been great, but the sacrifice has been great as well. There had been 78,000 casualties when I left these shores last year.

The casualties are 152,000 today in the Canadian expeditionary force. I saw more than 2,000 of these men last Sunday at Epsom who had come back from the front wounded, and I do not believe that there was one man among them, fit in a military sense to go back

and do his duty again, who was not keen and eager and desirous of standing at the earliest possible moment alongside his comrades in France. That is the spirit, first and last in this war, I have found among our men, and I know the same spirit has prevailed throughout the empire.

A great many important things have happened recently in Canada, and among other things the enactment of compulsory military service. Here, as elsewhere, the relatively trivial disturbances occasioned by the enforcement of that act have been very greatly exaggerated; from one end of Canada to the other that act was accepted, and the men are flocking to the colors. As a matter of fact, after the act was first proclaimed, some 10,000 or 12,000 men joined the colors at once without waiting for the call. There have been trifling disturbances here or there, not entirely confined to any one section of the country, and we have been obliged to enact certain amendments to the Military Service act with a view of preventing any attempt at forcible resistance.

One measure which the Canadian Parliament enacted, and which had a very happy effect, was a provision that any man forcibly resisting the Military Service act, or encouraging forcible resistance to it, should ipso facto become a member of the Canadian expeditionary force and be authorized to employ his warlike spirit against the enemies of England.

What has Canada done besides? Besides men we required food—the empire required food, the Allies required it. We required ships; we required munitions. Canada has tried to do its part in all those matters. There has been an active campaign for increased food production in Canada going on during the past year, and I desire to make acknowledgment to

the Prime Ministers of the Canadian Provinces for their splendid co-operation in the attempt to increase food supply. The acreage under cultivation for food purposes during this season is at least 10 per cent. greater than it was last year, and, taking wheat, oats, rye, and barley, Canada expects, unless weather condi-

tions should prove unfavorable, a crop of about 900,000,000 bushels.

We have also helped in shipping. Recently fourteen shipyards have been completed and already 45,000 tons of shipping have been laid down. We expect to turn out 84,000 more tons this year, and 250,000 tons in 1919.

Premier Clemenceau's Speech of Defiance

IN CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for June appeared an abridged version of Premier Clemenceau's speech in the Chamber of Deputies June 5, 1918, when he defied the Socialist pacifists and was sustained by a vote of 377 to 110. The full text of this important speech is herewith given:

When I accepted the Premiership I knew that I was called upon to bear the burden of the most critical period of the war. I have told you from the outset that we should pass together through difficult and exacting times and cruel hours. These times are coming, and the only question is whether we can stand them. When the defection of Russia came about, when men who believed that it was only necessary to will peace in order to impose it upon the German Emperor had given up their country (unwittingly, I prefer to think) to the invasion of the enemy, who could believe then that a million German soldiers who had become available would not be turned against us? This and more is what happened.

For four years our effectives have been wearing themselves out; our front was held by a line of soldiers which was becoming thinner and thinner, with our allies, who had suffered enormous losses, and now arrives a fresh mass of German divisions in good condition. Is there any one who does not realize that under the weight of this tremendous wave our lines had to give way at some points? The extent of their recoil became great and dangerous. I say nothing more, and there is nothing in that to shake the confidence which we should have in our soldiers. Today these men are engaged in the battle. Our men fought, one against five, without sleep for three or four days together.

These great soldiers have good leaders, great leaders, who are worthy of them in every way. I have seen these leaders at work, and some of them struck me with admiration. Is that saying that there are nowhere mistakes? I cannot maintain that. My business is precisely to discover these mistakes and to punish them, and in this I

am supported by two great soldiers named Foch and Pétain. General Foch enjoys to such a degree the confidence of the Allies that yesterday they wished that their unanimous confidence in him should be expressed in the communiqué. These men are at this moment fighting the hardest battle of the war with a heroism which I can find no words to express. I have come here in the desire to find simple, brief, and measured terms to express the sentiment of the French people both at the front and in the rear, and to show the world a state of mind which I cannot analyze but which is the admiration of all. It is my duty as leader of these men to punish them if they have not done their duty, but also to protect them if they are unjustly attacked.

The army is better than anything we could have expected from it, and when I speak of the army I speak of those who compose it, of whatever rank and whatever grade they may be. But that is not enough. The men must have faith and must die for their ideal if they wish to give us victory. Their leaders, also, have come from their ranks. Like them, they come back covered with wounds, when they do not remain, like them, on the field of battle.

We have yielded ground, much more ground than we should have wished. There are men who have paid for this retreat with their blood. I know some who have accomplished acts of heroism, like those Bretons who were surrounded in a wood all night and who, next day, found means of sending by carrier pigeon a message to say: "You may come and find us. We shall hold out for half a day yet." These men make the fatherland, they continue it and prolong it, that fatherland without which no reform is possible. They die for an ideal, for a history which is the foremost among all the histories of civilized peoples.

Our own duty is very simple and very tame. We are in no danger, and yet we are at our posts, where the capital interests of the country are defended. Be calm, confident, and determined to hold on to the end in this hard battle. The victory is to you, because the Germans, who are not so intelligent as they are told, have only one method—namely, to throw their whole weight into the

venture and to push it to the end. We saw them on the Yser, at Verdun, near Amlens, near Dunkirk and Calais, and then in Champagne. They broke our lines, but did you think you were going to make a war in which you would never retreat? The only thing that matters is final success.

You have before you a Government which, as it told you, did not enter into power ever to accept surrender. So long as we are here, the fatherland will be defended to the death, and no force will be spared to obtain success. We will never yield. That is the word of command of our Government. We will never yield at any moment. The Germans once more are staking everything on a coup which is meant to frighten us, so that we may abandon the struggle. For what was their great effort made on the Yser in 1914? In order to reach Calais, to separate us from the British, and to compel the latter to re-

nounce the struggle. Why did they begin again, and why have they once more begun again? In order to obtain this effect of terror.

The effectives of the belligerents are being exhausted, those of the Germans as well as our own, but meanwhile the Americans are coming to play a hand in the deciding game. Once more, the events in Russia gave our enemies a million additional men on the Franco-British front, but we have allies who represent the foremost nations of the world, and who have pledged themselves to continue the war until the attainment of the success which we hold within our grasp if we put forth the necessary energy.

The people of France have accomplished its task, and those who have fallen have not fallen in vain, since they have made French history great. It remains for the living to complete the magnificent work of the dead.

Alsace-Lorraine: Its Relation to France

THE following protest was published in reply to a suggestion by The Manchester Guardian that in the peace settlements the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine become autonomous, buffer States:

There is no doubt that the French Nation, which is primarily interested, is the nation which must estimate what it considers just, and in this context the decision of the Government is to support French democracy in its efforts. There is nothing more just. The moment peace is concluded each of the Allies will have some particular and perfectly legitimate desires to put forward, and in order to realize them must be able to rely upon the full support of the other contracting parties.

From all appearances, however, the Alsace-Lorraine question has a much greater scope. It is not a question of simply giving to France the just return for the prodigious sacrifices to which she has agreed in order to save civilization from Germanic domination, but it is a question of repairing the grave wrong which has been done to international law, or, as Lloyd George said, of "removing an ulcer which has infected European peace for half a century." These are the brutal facts. The population of two provinces which had attached itself to France has been forcibly detached from France after a war of conquest. This population has never ceased to protest against its forcible incorporation in the German Empire. The occupiers of the country have for nearly half a century treated it with the violence which is customary with them. Neither France, who could not forget this attack upon her honor and national integrity, nor the people of Alsace-Lorraine have resigned themselves to sanction the act of force of which they were the

victims. There is, therefore, in this case the flagrant violation by Prussia, who is used to such crimes as these, of the right of nationalities to dispose of themselves. The Allies are fighting for the freedom of Belgium, Poland, Bohemia, Serbia, Rumania, and the Irredentist provinces of Italy. On these lines they could not be disinterested in the fate of the people of Alsace-Lorraine, who not only do not wish to remain German, but who have on all possible occasions expressed their desire to become French again.

You seem to suggest an intermediate solution. Why should not Alsace-Lorraine become autonomous, a buffer State, as you say?

First, because the Alsace-Lorrainers do not constitute one nationality, as do the Poles, the Czechs, and the Jugoslavs, and it would be truly dangerous to create artificially a new nationality at a moment when the Allies will experience some difficulty in fixing the boundaries of the ancient States which will have to be revived.

Secondly, because the Alsace-Lorrainers who are principally interested in the question do not demand political autonomy and would for several reasons consider it extremely dangerous. It is a fact that Alsace-Lorraine is, as you remark, a country whose subsoil is very rich, (coal and iron mines, potassium deposits, and petroleum wells,) and whose industries, especially the textile industry, are very much developed. Consequently she would always provoke the covetousness of her powerful neighbors or would, at least, have to submit to their demands without being able to defend herself.

You tell us, it is true, that the League of Nations will be there to guarantee this autonomy against any future aggression. But supposing that this international institution can be created and has the power to impose

its decrees by force, it will be impossible for it to intervene effectively in economic problems. Alsace-Lorraine, which is a big producer of raw material and of manufactured goods, needs a very wide market into which to pour her superabundant wealth. On the hypothesis which we are putting forward she would have to make, under pain of death, close commercial agreements with one of the great neighboring powers, such as Luxemburg did before 1914. She would have, as a matter of necessity, to enter the German Zollverein or the Union Douanière Française, and that would bring her fatally into a political dependence which would be equivalent to annexation without guaranteeing her its advantages, for the other contracting State could always modify its tariffs and impose upon her worse servitude. Further, Alsace-Lorraine has been subjected to Germany for forty-seven years, and had become a field of colonization for her masters. Four hundred thousand German immigrants have established themselves there. They occupy all the administrative posts, and have secured to themselves economic preponderance in the country. Moreover, since the outbreak of war, the German authorities have arbitrarily "denationalized" several thousand Alsace-Lorrainians in order to seize their property and, by sales contrary to the law of nations, to pass it into the hands of subjects of the empire, just as they had already done to the property of hostile foreigners.

Thus, the day after the proclamation of complete autonomy of Alsace-Lorraine, this country would be entirely dependent on the German "colons," who have been exploiting and terrorizing it for so many long years. Could we speak of an independent country under such conditions? This is why those interested in this question deliberately repudiate this bastard solution. During recent months a little group of Alsace-Lorrainians who have taken refuge in Switzerland had

begun a campaign in favor of autonomy. After having studied the problem attentively they themselves abandoned this propaganda, and declared that they were rallying to what almost all their compatriots ardently desire—that is to say, a return, pure and simple, of the two provinces to France.

You will not be surprised if, in conclusion, we mention yet another aspect of the question. France has suffered from the atrocious present war more than all the other allies. It is on her territory that the battle has been fought, and it is her richest towns and her most prosperous villages which are being devastated. Not to mention the innumerable young men that she has sacrificed to save the world, she has seen the civilian population of the invaded territories decimated, driven out, and ruined by the Germans, and it is with this sorely tried country, bleeding at every pore and attacked at the very sources of her wealth, that the Allies, who have all benefited by her prodigious sacrifice, would barter not only the price of victory, but the restoration of right!

(Signed) ABBE WETTERLE,

Former Reichstag Deputy.

ALFRED WEIL,

Formerly Judge at Metz.

PAUL WILMUTH,

President of Association Générale des Alsaciens-Lorrains, 1 Rue de Staël, Paris.

CHARLES GEROLD,

Editor of the *Matin*, son of the Vicar of Strassburg.

F. H. HELLMER,

Advocate in the Courts of Colmar.

F. ECCARD,

Advocate in Strassburg.

ANSELM LANGEL,

Formerly Deputy in the Alsace-Lorraine Diet.

Paris, May 14.

Fashions of the Firing Line

By LIEUTENANT R. S. H. STURGES

Author of "On the Remainder of Our Front"

ONE of the best things that have appeared in the pages of *Punch* since the beginning of the war was a drawing of two Tommies, just returned to London on leave from the front. The traces of trench life are still evident on their clothing, and they are slung about with pots and pans and all the impedimenta of active service. Across the street are two bandsmen in the uniforms often to be seen in London in the far-off days of peace. They are resplendent in

scarlet tunics, pipe-clayed belts, and tall black bear skins. One of the men from France is watching them with an expression on his face of mingled interest, awe, and admiration. "Look, Bill," he says, nudging his companion; "soldiers!"

There is something very striking in this contrast between the soldier's appearance in peace and in war. The one seems to be the very antithesis of the other. Yet it is not so very many years since the soldier went to war in all his

finery. In those days a battle was a magnificent spectacle, with flying banners and flashing steel. But I cannot think that the brilliance of the soldier's apparel was particularly conducive to his personal comfort.

Necessity has changed all that in modern war. War is now hideous, there is no color in it, and if there were it would seem mere grim sarcasm. Comfort is not a noticeable characteristic of modern war, but at any rate the fashions of the firing line are all attempts to alleviate some of its discomfort.

Walk along a front-line trench in Winter, look at the first man you come across, and see what he is wearing. On his head is the now familiar steel helmet or "tin hat," like a shallow inverted bowl; it is covered with brown canvas, for flashing steel is out of date. Beneath his chin you will notice a square khaki bag which hangs upon his chest, suspended around his neck. In this bag is his gas mask, ready at a moment's notice to be slipped over his face. He is also wearing the belt, bayonet, brace straps, and ammunition pouches of his equipment; for he never moves about the trenches without his ammunition, or without the rifle which is slung upon his shoulder.

Even the rifle is dressed for its part. An old sock covers the muzzle and a strip of sandbag is wound around the breech—both necessary precautions against the all-pervading mud.

Under his equipment the soldier is wearing what looks like a large leather waistcoat with sleeves; but it is longer than a waistcoat, for it completely covers the tunic beneath. These leather jerkins have, to a large extent, supplanted the old goatskin coats. They are quite as warm, being lined with cloth; they protect the wearer more efficiently from the rain; they are easier to clean, and last, but not least, they are free from the somewhat strong and clinging scent of the goat.

The existence of the soldier's trousers you must assume, for they are invisible to the naked eye. His legs are completely encased in long rubber boots, the

tops of which disappear under his leather jerkin. These boots are bound to his feet by straps passing around the ankle and under the sole. In them he can pass dryshod through water that rises above his knees; you will notice, perhaps, that they are coated from top to bottom with watery slime.

The gum boot is an inestimable boon to the dwellers in the mud and water of trench-land, but it has a few disadvantages. It is cold. Unless perfectly fitting its heel is inclined to rub, to the destruction of the sock or socks within. There is little or no ventilation for the foot. Most of these disadvantages can be overcome by the frequent removal of the boot, by a vigorous rubbing of the foot, and a change of socks before it is replaced.

On a cold, frosty night the soldier will wear his greatcoat in addition to the leather jerkin. It seems impossible to wear too much when standing motionless on sentry for two long hours. In such a case the equipment will be worn over the overcoat, and the gas mask over all, as before.

The greatcoat is not a suitable garment for the trenches, and, except in the coldest weather, it is to be avoided. It absorbs the rain and has a fatal attraction for every variety of mud, which clings to the cloth with loving embrace and defies removal.

The greatcoat's proper sphere is the billet, where, as a blanket or a mattress, it more than justifies its existence. Nevertheless, at times when the snow is on the ground, and when the water is freezing solid in his water bottle, the soldier is thankful that he has brought his greatcoat with him to the trenches. For, with its help, a cap comforter beneath his helmet and a pair of woolen gloves upon his hands, he can at least make a stand against the cold.

For finery you will look in vain among the fashions of the trenches. The nearest approach to it will be found, perhaps, in an aluminium ring upon the soldier's finger, rudely fashioned from the fuse of a German shell.

Germany's Attitude On Peace

Address by the Imperial Chancellor Outlining
the Official View of the Berlin Government

COUNT GEORG VON HERTLING, the Imperial German Chancellor, expressed the German official attitude with regard to peace overtures in an address to the Reichstag on July 10, 1918. His references to peace were as follows:

I maintain the standpoint of the imperial reply to the peace note of Pope Benedict. The pacific spirit which inspired this reply has also inspired me. At the time, however, I added that this spirit must not give our enemies free conduct for an interminable continuation of the war.

What have we lived to see, however? While for years there can have been no doubt whatever of our willingness to hold out our hand toward an honorable peace, we have heard until these last few days inciting speeches delivered by enemy statesmen. President Wilson wants war until we are destroyed, and what Mr. Balfour, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has said must really drive the flush of anger to the cheeks of every German.

We feel for the honor of our Fatherland, and we cannot allow ourselves to be constantly and openly insulted in this manner, and behind these insults is the desire for our destruction. As long as this desire for our destruction exists we must endure together with our faithful nation.

I am also convinced—I know it—that in the widest circles of our nation the same serious feeling exists everywhere. As long as the desire for our destruction exists we must hold out, and we will hold out, with confidence in our troops, in our army administration and in our magnificent nation, which bears so wonderfully these difficult times, with their great privations and continuous sacrifices.

AN OFFER INVITED

In the direction of our policy nothing will be changed. If, in spite of these hostile statements by these statesmen, any serious efforts for a paving of the way to peace were to show themselves anywhere, then, quite certainly, we would not adopt a negative attitude from the very beginning, but we would examine these seriously meant—I say expressly seriously—efforts immediately with scrupulous care.

Naturally, it is not sufficient when some agent or other approaches us and says to us: "I can bring about peace negotiations, then and there." But it is necessary for the appointed representatives of the enemy powers, duly authorized by their Governments, to give us to understand that discussions are possible, discussions which for the time being naturally will be within a limited circle.

But the statesmen who have spoken up to the present time have not said a word about such possibilities. When such possibilities manifest themselves, and when serious inclinations toward peace show themselves on the other side, then we will immediately go into them. That is to say, we will not reject them—and we will speak, to begin, within a small circle.

I also can tell you that this standpoint is not merely my own standpoint, but that it is shared emphatically by the Chief of the Army Administration. The Chief of the Army Administration also does not conduct war for the sake of war, but has said to me that as soon as serious desire for peace manifests itself on the other side we must follow it up.

CONFERENCE WITH KAISER

You will be interested to know how we are working on this standpoint, and certain problems will appear which the present time forces upon us. Exhaustive discussions took place regarding these questions July 1 and 2 at General Headquarters, under the Presidency of the Kaiser.

Naturally, I can only announce here quite generally the lines which were laid down at that time. Regarding the east, we stand on the basis of the peace of Brest-Litovsk, and we wish to see this peace carried out in a loyal manner. That is the wish of the German Imperial Administration, and it is supported in this by the Chief of the Army Administration.

However, the difficulty of the execution of the peace of Brest-Litovsk does not lie on our side, but in the fact that conditions in Russia are still exceedingly uncertain. We are inclined to believe in the loyalty of the present Russian Government, and especially in the loyalty of the representative of the Russian Government in Berlin.

But we may not, and can not, assume unconditionally that the present Russian

Government has the power to carry through everywhere the loyal promises made to us. We do not at all wish to create difficulties for the present Russian Government, but as conditions now are there are incessant developments and endless frictions in the frontier region. However, our principle is that we stand on the basis of the peace made at Brest-Litovsk, and we will carry out this peace loyally and will deal loyally with the present Government.

They are still under the depressing influence of a terrible crime in Moscow. The murder of our Ambassador there was an act in violation of international law than which a worse could never cry to heaven.

All indications point to the fact that the accused deed was instigated by the Entente Allies in order to involve us in fresh war with the present Russian Government—a state of things which we are most anxious to avoid. We do not want fresh war with Russia. The present Russian Government desires peace and needs peace, and we are giving it our support in this peaceful disposition and aim.

On the other hand, it is true that political currents of very varied tendencies are circulating in the Russian Empire, movements having the most diverse aims, including the monarchist movement of the Constitutional Democrats and the movement of the Social Revolutionaries. We will not commit ourselves to any political countercurrent, but are giving careful attention to the course Russia is steering.

BELGIUM AS A PAWN

The portions of the Chancellor's speech relating to Belgium were not given to the press, but on the following day Count Hertling made this statement before the Reichstag Main Committee:

The present possession of Belgium only means that we have a pawn for future negotiations. We have no intention to keep Belgium in any form whatever.

By the expression pawn is meant that one does not intend to keep what one has in one's hand as a pawn if negotiations bring a favorable result.

What we precisely want, as expressed by us on Feb. 24, is that after the war restored Belgium shall, as a self-dependent State, not be subject to anybody as a vassal and shall live with us in good friendly relations.

I have held this point of view from the beginning in regard to Belgium, and I still hold it today. This side of my policy is fully in conformity with the general lines, the direction of which I yesterday clearly laid before you.

We are waging the war as a war of defense, as we have done from the very beginning, and every imperialistic tendency and every tendency to world domination has been remote from our minds.

What we want is the inviolability of our territory, open air for the expansion of our people in the economic domain, and, naturally, also security in regard to the future. This is completely in conformity with my point of view in regard to Belgium, but how this point of view can be established in detail depends upon future negotiations, and on this point I am unable to give binding declarations.

A few days later the concluding portion of this supplementary speech concerning Belgium appeared in the *North German Gazette* with the explanation that members of the Reichstag had demanded its publication:

It was never our intention to keep Belgium except as a pledge by which to secure Germany against future perils, and until the danger is removed we cannot surrender our pledge.

In peace we must be guaranteed against Belgium being used for ground on which to deploy military forces, but also from the economic standpoint we must have guarantees against being isolated.

It must be made to the interest of Belgium to secure close economic relations with Germany. Should Germany succeed in attaining such an intimate commercial connection, this would bring about a political agreement with Germany in which we should secure the best guarantees against future perils from England and France by way of Belgium.

KUEHLMANN'S RESIGNATION

The Chancellor announced the resignation of Dr. von Kühlmann as Foreign Secretary and stated that Admiral von Hintze was appointed his successor. He then added:

Admiral von Hintze possesses a thorough knowledge of Russian affairs, which is a matter of great importance in the present situation. But it goes without saying that I will give my countersignature to the appointment of Admiral von Hintze only on condition that he follows my line of policy and not his own.

However, as far as I am concerned, I already have a sure guarantee, for this is Admiral von Hintze's promise. I will direct the line of foreign policy, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has merely to carry out my policy. The proposed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is absolutely clear on this point.

The course with which the great majority of the Reichstag declared itself to be in agreement in November of last year will still be followed.

[The text of the Reichstag address of Dr. von Kühlmann, which led to his resignation, is printed on Page 315.]

German Aims and Servile States

A Controversy Between the British War Secretary and the Austro-Hungarian War Secretary

VISCOUNT MILNER, British Secretary for War, in a speech delivered June 14, 1918, at the anniversary gathering of the Young Men's Christian Association in London, made the following reference to Germany's domination over her allies:

The military party has Germany under its heel and all her allies in its grip. Germany has safeguarded herself in the East by a ring of dependent States, and she is now turning with all her might to the West in order, by a supreme and desperate effort, to crush the remaining free nations, so as to dominate the world and form a Central European bloc of irresistible military strength, supported by giant industries, drawing their raw material from all the rest of the world on Germany's own terms, and leaving the supplying nations to enjoy just as much prosperity, freedom, and self-determination as Germany chooses to permit—a world of peaceful, servile States working for the profit of a great paramount empire.

That is the German peace as we see it illustrated today in the case of Russia and Rumania. That is the vision of the future of mankind which possesses the soul of the rulers of Germany today, for the attainment of which they are prepared to wade through further seas of blood. It is as certain as anything can be certain that that is an unattainable object, and that it will fail as every attempt to subjugate the world to a single will has failed from the time of the Roman Empire to the time of Napoleon. The liberty-loving nations of the world will fight on indefinitely for their ideal of a world commonwealth of free nations as opposed to the ideal of a new Roman Empire. So every fresh German success means not the fulfillment of German ambition, which is absolutely intolerable and unthinkable, but a further prolongation of the war.

This is the day and the hour of the climax of Germany's power; therefore we have to fight as we never fought before in all our history, as our great, noble French allies are fighting, with every

ounce of their strength, until the great reserves which the cause of freedom still possesses have been fully mobilized. The German War Minister has been sneering at the reserves of the Allies. But he laughs best who laughs last. If I could tell you the number of men that we have put into the field since this great battle began, the number that we are putting in now, and that we are going to put in, I should astonish you. But not even those numbers are enough. No effort can be too great when everything in the world is at stake. Those numbers would show that if we feel absolute confidence in our gallant allies, they are justified in the confidence they place in us.

COUNT BURIAN REPLIES

Count Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied to Lord Milner as follows:

Lord Milner's speech once again affords a deep insight into the psychology of our enemies. In its expression is again given to our opponents' desire to represent the war aim of the Central Powers as an emanation of the intention ascribed to the Germans to obtain domination not only over their opponents, but also over their own allies. Our peace treaties with Russia and Rumania have in this latest case been represented as an illustration of this lust of domination. Have, then, Russians come under foreign domination by the conclusion of peace with the Soviet Republic? Or would, perhaps, a victorious Britain have treated any colony of our allies more mildly than we have acted toward Rumania? But our opponent does not dispute that, and by the portrayal of the awful consequences of this plan ascribed to us of enslaving the world, the peoples of the Entente are to be convinced of the necessity of battling desperately until they are completely exhausted.

The fact that reference is almost always made only to Germany and hardly at all to Austria-Hungary is sufficiently explained by the foregoing thesis. The complete unity of our group in the struggle and in our war aims is our strength, and, despite all their vain attempts, our

opponents will not cease their endeavors to undermine it. When Lord Milner refers to Germany and incidentally mentions us as her "victim" he is himself doing what he in his own words complains of when he says that "attempts are being made on the part of the Central Powers to incite one allied nation against another." Now with us he will not succeed.

The German "yoke" is for Austria-Hungary a "yoke" of mutual rocklike friendship and complete consideration for the interests of both parties. Otherwise the relationship between Austria-Hungary and Germany would not be possible for one moment. One might quote once more the oft-heard expression, "Only the stupidest calves themselves choose their own slaughterers." We have happily long had what Lord Milner praises in the Entente, "the valuable possession of the moral unity of allies devoted to one common cause." We will bear our burdens

in common, and be considerate toward one another until a victorious end is achieved.

As regards the alleged efforts of the Central Powers to secure world dominion and their desire to wade through ever wider seas of blood, let Lord Milner then for once make a sincere attempt to obtain further enlightenment on this point. He will be astonished how tremendously far our aims are removed from those which our opponents again and again seek to misrepresent to the world as ours, and which they hold up as bogys.

I agree with Lord Milner straightaway that these aims ascribed to us are unattainable, but I can assure him there are no persons of sound common sense in the Central countries—and here, despite Lord Milner, Austria-Hungary may assuredly also speak in the name of Germany—who would have set before themselves such an aim even in the wildest of dreams.

The Acme of German Cruelty

Michel Jodin, writing in the *Ame Belge*, (*Soul of Belgium*), one of the little Belgian papers that appear in spite of all attempts at suppression, tells the incident given below:

Executions by the enemy continue. On May 11 last the people of Charleroi were awakened with a start at 5 in the morning by a salvo of forty-eight shots, and soon after those living near the cavalry barracks saw six bodies carried out one after another. This horrible tragedy is the epilogue to a trial which lasted four days, April 10 to 13 inclusive, and where all kinds of people were tried in a body—two merchants, a priest of Tournai, Mme. de Cock, (wife of a policeman,) two Antwerp boatmen, a French soldier, two railway officials, a Brussels police officer, and many others. The prisoners were accused of having spied on the movements of German troops. The military representative demanded a certain number of heads. Judgment was passed only after a month of intolerable suspense, * * * and then began more diabolical cruelty. The sentence was not made known to the unfortunate nineteen. Their families were summoned by telegram to Charleroi, each was informed that six victims would be shot next morning, and that perhaps their relative would be one. In vain they begged and implored to know the certainty; they were allowed to visit the prisoners, and they wept and lamented. The bitter truth would be easier than this agonizing uncertainty. But it was refused; the butchers preferred that the cells should all echo to the sound of sobs and prayers. The blood to be shed in the morning was not enough; all could be made to suffer in anticipation. Those chosen for death could only prepare for it in doubt and anxiety, and those who were safe believed themselves in extremis. Wives and children stood all night at the gates of the prison alternating between infinite despair and senseless hope. Certainty came with the dawn, the fusillade did its work, and Delfosse, Vergeylen, Cool, Hofman, Van Hecke, and Merjay breathed their last sigh.

Von Kühlmann's Reichstag Address

German Foreign Secretary's Summary of War Situation and the Storm It Raised

DR. RICHARD VON KUHLMANN, the German Foreign Secretary, addressed the Reichstag June 24, 1918. In his speech he asserted that "the end of the war can hardly be expected through purely military decisions alone, and without recourse to diplomatic negotiations." This phrase, which flatly contradicted speeches by the German Emperor, who but a short time before had referred to peace being won by "the strong German sword," was received with consternation in the Reichstag and with sharp criticism by the press. It was reported later that Dr. von Kühlmann's words had been approved by General Ludendorff. This brought to notice rumors of friction between Ludendorff and the German Crown Prince and his coterie, who comprise the radical Pan-German elements in official circles. In the end the anger of the Junkers and Pan-Germans, due to this speech, forced Dr. von Kühlmann to resign his position as Foreign Secretary. His resignation was accepted by the Kaiser on July 9. The chief passages in the address are as follows:

I believe that one can say, without fear of contradiction, as the result of revelations, that the deeper we go into the causes of this war the clearer it becomes that the power which planned and desired the war was Russia; that France played the next worst rôle as instigator, and that England's policy has very dark pages to show.

England's attitude in the days before the outbreak of the war was bound to strengthen Russia's desire for war. Of this there are proofs enough in the documents already published.

On the other hand, Germany did not for an instant believe that this war could lead to the domination of Europe, much less to the domination of the world. On the contrary, the German policy before the war showed good prospects of being able satisfactorily to realize its essential aims, namely, the settlement of affairs in the East and Colonial problems by peaceful negotiation.

Referring to Germany's war aims, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

I consider it necessary to say quite simply, and in a way easy for all to understand, what our positive desires are. We wish for the German people and our allies a free, strong, independent existence within the boundaries drawn for us by history. We desire overseas possessions corresponding to our greatness and wealth; the freedom of the sea, carrying our trade to all parts of the world. These, in brief, are our roughly sketched aims, the realization of which is absolutely vital and necessary for Germany.

In view of the magnitude of this war and the number of powers, including those from overseas, that are engaged, its end can hardly be expected through purely military decisions alone and without recourse to diplomatic negotiations.

Dr. von Kühlmann paid tribute to the neutral States which had done everything to mitigate the suffering of wounded prisoners, and which had "offered, if need be, the hospitality of their countries for a discussion between the belligerents." He added:

Any fears that some change might occur in the strict observance of Spanish neutrality appear to be at present in no way justified. In America some small States, under the ever-increasing pressure of the United States, have joined the enemy ranks, but no substantial changes in the position have taken place. The Imperial Government's policy is to do everything that can be done to render impossible the entry of further neutral States into the ranks of our enemies.

CLAIMS AUSTRIAN SUCCESS

Speaking of the military situation, the Secretary said that victories had given the Germans the initiative in France. He continued:

We can hope that the Summer and Autumn will bring to our arms a new and great success. The Austro-Hungarian Army also has in a dashing onslaught attacked the Italian positions and achieved noteworthy successes and pinned down large and important enemy forces on that front.

When one makes a wide survey of events, one must ask whether the war,

according to human calculations, will last beyond the Autumn or the Winter, or beyond next year. There is a common idea among the people that the length of the war is something absolutely new, as if the authoritative quarters had in our time never reckoned on a very long war. This idea is incorrect.

Dr. von Kühlmann quoted von Moltke, who in 1890 in the Reichstag said that if war broke out, its duration and end could not be calculated.

Despite the brilliant successes of our arms there has been nowhere clearly recognizable among our enemies readiness for peace. The German Government has repeatedly laid down its standpoint in declarations intended for the widest publicity. Our enemies have nothing to show that can in any degree compare with the German peace offer, with the resolution of this House, or with the reply to the Papal note.

The declarations of our enemies, especially of English statesmen, allow as yet no peaceful ray of light to fall on the darkness of this war.

REPLIES TO BALFOUR

Referring to Mr. Balfour's speech, in which the British Foreign Secretary said that Germany had unchained the war to achieve world domination, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

I do not believe that any responsible man in Germany, not even the Kaiser or the members of the Imperial Government, ever for a moment believed they could win the domination in Europe by starting this war. The idea of world domination in Europe is a utopia, as proved by Napoleon. The nation which tried it would, as happened to France, bleed to death in useless battle and would be most grievously injured and lowered in her development. One may here apply von Moltke's phrase, "Woe to him who sets Europe afire."

At no moment of our later history was there less occasion for us to start or contribute to the starting of a conflagration than the moment in which it occurred.

In a former debate I pointed out that the absolute integrity of the German Empire and its allies formed the necessary prerequisite condition for entering into a peace discussion or negotiations. That is our position today.

From England the reproach is constantly made that we are not prepared on a hint from England to state our attitude publicly on the Belgian question. On this point the fundamental views of the Imperial Government differ from those

ascribed to us by English statesmen. We regard Belgium as one question in the entire complex. We must, however, decline to make, as it were, a prior concession by giving a statement on the Belgian question which would bind us, without in the least binding the enemy.

Mr. Balfour, moreover, by way of precaution, has added that we must in no way imagine that any agreement on the Belgian question exhausts the stock of English or Entente wishes. He prudently abstained from describing those points in which he intends to announce more far-reaching claims or desires.

The supposition is not unjustified by previous experiences that while these words, on the one hand, were addressed to Paris, on the other hand covetous desires floated across the Mediterranean to the parts of Palestine and Mesopotamia at present occupied by the British troops.

I hear already the justification which will be duly given for such desires, namely, that England could not possibly make such sacrifices of blood and treasure without reserving for herself most of the gains.

As regards the probable course of events, the Imperial Chancellor and I have previously declared that in the present stage of development far-going advances on the road to peace can hardly any longer be expected from public statements which we shout to each other from the speaker's tribune. We, too, can adopt the words spoken by Mr. Asquith.

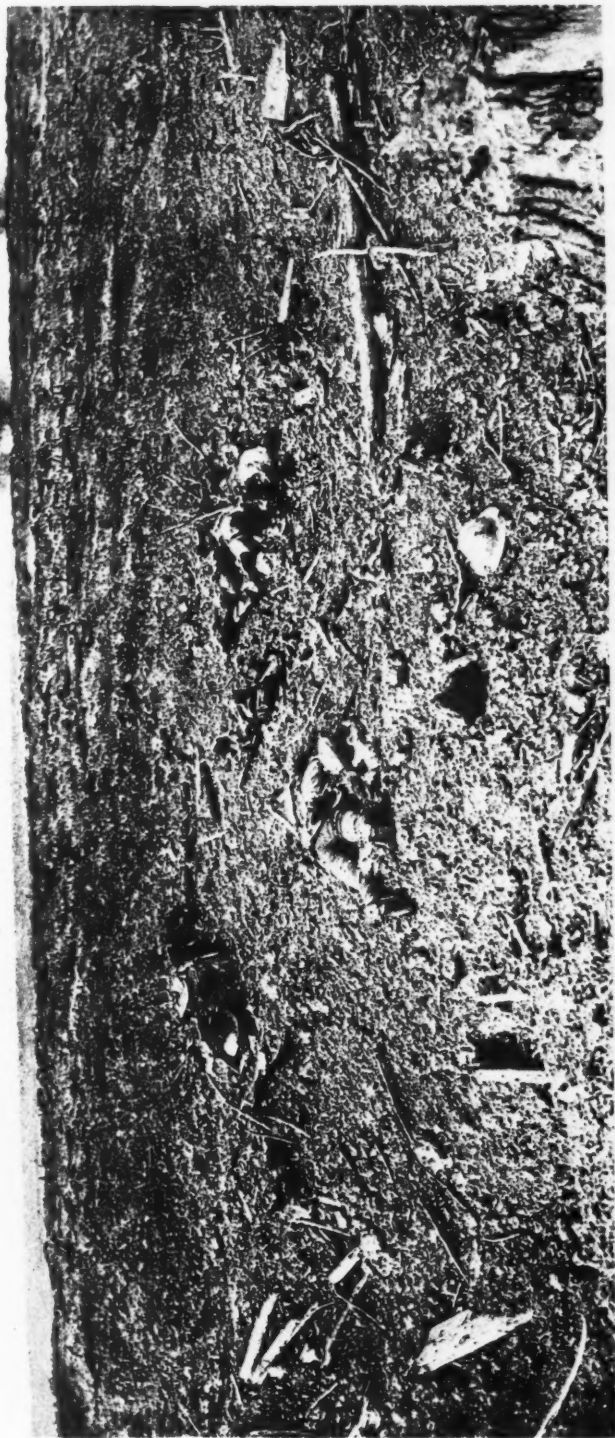
HOPES FOR PEACE OFFERS

Dr. von Kühlmann quoted from Mr. Asquith's speech of May 16, in which it was said that the British Government would not turn a deaf ear to a peace proposal if it was not couched in ambiguous terms.

We, likewise, [he added,] can make the same declaration, knowing that it is also our policy. Once the moment arrives—when, I cannot prophesy—that the nations which are at present locked in battle will exchange peace views, one of the preliminary conditions must be a certain degree of mutual confidence in each other's honesty and chivalry.

For so long as every overture is regarded by others as a peace offensive, as a trap, or as something false for the purpose of sowing disunion between allies, so long as every attempt at a rapprochement is at once violently denounced by the enemies of a rapprochement in the various countries, so long will it be impossible to see how any exchange of ideas leading to peace can be begun.

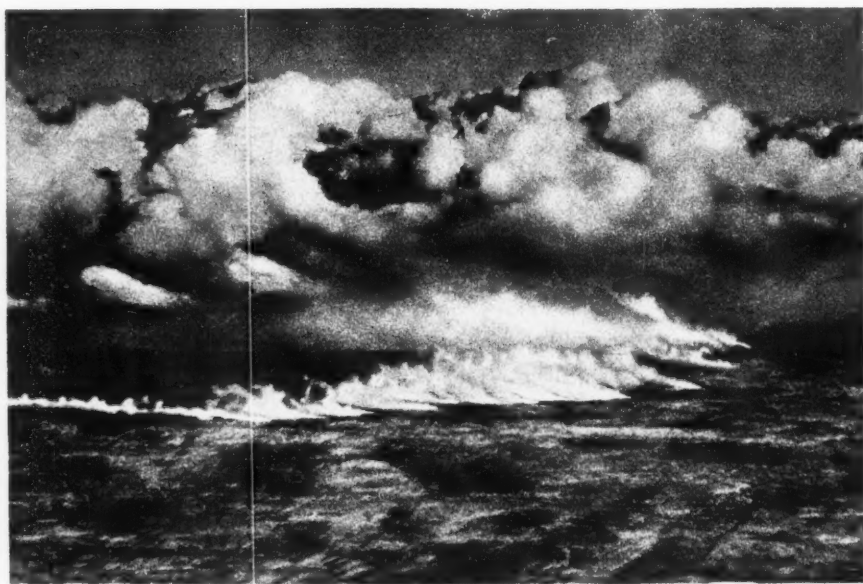
Our position on the battlefields, our enormous military resources, and the



Part of an actual battlefield photographed during the recent fighting in France
(*Western Newspaper Union*)



Different types of gas masks (from left to right): American, British, French, and German



A German gas attack photographed from an airplane. The gas is sweeping across the ground under a bank of clouds

situation and determination at home permit us to use such language. We hope that our enemies will perceive that in view of our resources the idea of victory for the Entente is a dream, an illusion, and that they will in due course find a way to approach us with peace offers which will correspond with the situation and satisfy Germany's vital needs.

"CAUTION" IN RUSSIA

With reference to Russia, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

It is impossible to believe that the great process of fermentation and the wild, irregular movement of conflicting forces, which the disappearance of the Czaristic power released, has reached permanent equilibrium. All conditions in the former empire of the Czar must to a certain extent be described as uncertain. Our policy, in view of this situation, is close observation and the utmost caution and, so far as purely internal affairs are concerned, correspondingly wise reserve.

The leaven of national fermentation within the Russian body politic led to the detachment and severance of a whole series of entities, which have partly attained full national status and are partly developing toward that end.

In Finland the battle has been decided in favor of the party which was striving for Finland's independence. The soil of Finland has been cleared of Red Guards and everything points to Finland being about to develop that high culture which is hers in the form of an independent State.

The Secretary said that the number of German troops which participated in the battles in Finland at the latter's request was small, but that they undoubtedly contributed their share in shaping events.

By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, [continued Dr. von Kühlmann,] Courland and Lithuania were severed from the Russian Empire. It was from the outset clear to the negotiators that the partition of the Baltic region by the line fixed in the peace treaty was bound to create an extraordinarily difficult situation. It was hard for the Lettish population to endure the prospect of being cut up.

The historical internal cohesion of the entire Baltic region suggested at that time objections against the possibility of a lasting separation between Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. But conditions arising from the difficult situation created, on the one part, by the complete dissolution of the Russian State, and, on the other, for us by the desire and necessity of arriving at a certain settlement in the east, involved for us the necessity of concluding peace as it was done.

In agreement with the entire German public we resolved to give ear to Livonia's appeal for help and replace the reign of terror carried on by the Red Guards by a reign of peace and order. The inhabitants of these provinces, mindful of the misgovernment and terrible sufferings which they must endure, turned to the German authorities.

The Imperial Government from the outset took the standpoint that it was highly desirable, before finally giving diplomatic recognition to the States which detached themselves from the former Russian Empire, to come to an understanding with Russia as to the form which the recognition of such States should take. This line of conduct will not be departed from.

After referring to the discussion which had taken place with the Soviet Government, Dr. von Kühlmann said that a conference was about to be held in Berlin, under his Presidency, at which an attempt would be made to bring about friendly agreement on all points still pending. He added:

I can express the hope that the discussions will completely correspond with the requirements and wishes of the populations there and the interests of the German people. I will not go more closely into the future of Courland and Lithuania, which lie mainly within the domain of the home department.

POLISH SETTLEMENT

Dealing with the question of Poland, Dr. von Kühlmann said that not only was the Polish question inherently a difficult one, but the almost inseparable connection between it and the solution of the economic questions existent between Austria-Hungary and Germany had so far prevented the attainment of a definite result. He continued:

I believe, however, that before there are general peace negotiations in Europe the zealous efforts of the statesmen concerned will result in their succeeding in finding a solution acceptable to all parties.

In South Russia our occupation of the Crimea gave rise to certain incidents respecting the Russian fleet, but these have been satisfactorily settled.

The Foreign Secretary said that an agreement had been reached by which the fortifications on the Aland Islands, in the Baltic, were to be removed, but that a final decision had not yet been reached regarding the future of the islands.

We hope and desire, however, [he said,] that this question will be so settled that the maximum guarantee can be given that to the advantage of all dwellers on the Baltic coast the nonemployment of the islands for military purposes may be assured for all time.

In Austria-Hungary that brilliant representative of her foreign policy, Count Czernin, retired because of internal political reasons. His successor, Baron Burian, is a well-trying diplomat, whose loyalty, friendship, and devotion to the alliance were assured from the outset. The personal and cordial collaboration which existed in the case of Count Czernin, and which contributed to the final settlement and solution of all questions, also exists in the case of Baron Burian.

THE EMPERORS' PACT

It is also to be reckoned among Baron Burian's services that an interview between the two Emperors occurred at main headquarters which history will record as momentous in shaping the relations between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Both the Emperors, in the presence of leading statesmen, assured each other solemnly that they would not only loyally abide by the existing alliance but that they also intended to strengthen, widen, and deepen it in political, military, and economic directions.

Pursuant to the expression of the will of these two august personages, responsible statesmen forthwith entered into corresponding negotiations. During his visit to Berlin Baron Burian discussed the fundamental questions thoroughly in conferences with the Chancellor, the exchange of views being carried on further in writing. They probably will be continued on the occasion of the Chancellor's return visit to Vienna.

With Bulgaria, too, recent events, especially the peace negotiations, have facilitated the drawing closer of many personal and political ties. It is a matter of regret, which the German public shares, that Premier Radoslavoff, who has been a pillar of our alliance, recently resigned

for internal political reasons. The explicit assurances of his successor and the exalted personality of the great statesman who wears the Bulgarian crown are a guarantee to us that there will be no change in the policy hitherto followed.

Dr. von Kühlmann again went over the question of the Dobrudja, which is the subject of negotiations between Turkey and Bulgaria, and added: "But there does not exist any conflict in interest between us and Turkey."

He announced that within the next few days a conference would be held at Constantinople, where the questions that had arisen between the Quadruple Alliance and "the Caucasian people" would "find a settlement."

In her advance from territories falling to her under the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, [said Dr. von Kühlmann,] Turkey, for reasons of safety, pushed the left wing of her advancing troops into regions which indubitably could not be permanently occupied or annexed. The Chiefs of Staff have discussed this matter and the Turkish advance in the Caucasus has stopped.

Turkey found herself obliged quite recently by the strategic developments in Upper Mesopotamia to utilize the Batum-Tabriz-Julfa line of communication across the Aderbijan region of Persia to the Tigris Valley.

Following Dr. von Kühlmann's speech the Imperial Chancellor, Count von Hertling, addressed the Reichstag. "I said that the four points of President Wilson," the Chancellor asserted, "might possibly form the basis of a general world peace. 'No utterance of President Wilson what-ever followed this, so that there is no object in spinning any further the threads there started. There is less object after statements made since that time have reached us, especially from America.'"

Foreign Secretary Severely Criticised

Count Westarp, the leader of the Conservatives, in his reply to the Foreign Secretary spoke as follows:

What Herr von Kühlmann said concerning the causes of the war and the blame for the war appears to me open to criticism. Russia, he said, is to blame for the war; England only in the last days did not precisely stop it. He has thereby

again dug up the already-buried hatchet. I consider it desirable in the highest degree to say this.

It is England who claims exclusive dominion over the world and the seas. She, therefore, years ago resolved to annihilate Germany at a given opportunity. Mr. Balfour has just declared this clearly enough. England willed that we should not receive the fruits of our up-

ward progress. She, therefore, incited the world against us. England was Loki, and Russia the blind Hoder. [Two demigods of Norse mythology; the former the personification of crafty evil; the latter the victim of his guile.] The struggle with England must be waged for the very end of existence or nonexistence, and in England's case it is certainly a matter of conflict of two world views, of a conflict against the idolatry of money. It is for us a struggle against the domination of Anglo-Saxon capital.

A simple agreement in the nature of a treaty with England is not sufficient to render possible existence for Germany in the future, but increase in German power is necessary to place us in a position to assert our standpoint, even against England.

For this, too, Belgium and the Flemish coast must come under German influence. I therefore am unable to agree in thinking that besides Germany's integrity there is no subject which can prevent negotiations. No, Herr Staatssekretär, we demand that. Together with that there are axioms which must be in no way departed from.

A declaration such as that of the Foreign Secretary is not calculated to strengthen the will for peace. I regard that as an illusion. I fear it will be regarded abroad as a new peace offer. If the aim is not rightly shown, neither is the way. An appeal to England's good-will is of no use whatever. It is a commonplace, moreover, that negotiations belong to a conclusion of peace and that arms alone do not bring peace; but the presupposition is that the parties also come to negotiations. If they do not wish to come, they must be compelled to come, and there comes in the victory of our arms.

Dr. von Kühlmann, in replying to his critics, said:

Once legends have arisen they are difficult to destroy, but I must declare, with a view to counterattacking the growth of a legend, that there can be no question of my having bound myself to the idea of a long war.

The foregoing was evoked by a Deputy who referred to "Dr. von Kühlmann's expectation of a war of very long duration."

One of the most criticised points in the main speech of von Kühlmann was his reference to negotiations, not military decisions, ending the war. Dr. Gustav Stresemann, the National Liberal leader, Count von Westarp, and others protested warmly against this statement.

Dr. Stresemann said that the speech had a most depressing effect. It offered the German people, he added, stones for bread. The Deputy declared that not negotiations, but hammer blows, brought peace in the east, and that the reason the world refused to believe in German victories was because German statesmen were almost afraid to mention them.

In reply, the Foreign Secretary explained that what he meant was that military success must be followed by diplomatic negotiations. Chancellor von Hertling also emphasized the same point, saying that von Kühlmann's statement must not be regarded as weakening the German determination for victory.

Attacks by Socialist Leaders

Deputy Haase's answer to Foreign Secretary Kühlmann was extremely caustic. A full extract is given herewith as showing the attitude of the minority party of the German Socialists:

This House has today witnessed a scene such as never before has been enacted within its walls. Herr von Kühlmann has obediently agreed to his execution and obediently allowed the halter to be placed round his neck. He has in no degree known how to die beautifully.

The Chancellor has repudiated no word of Count Westarp's concrete expression of the conditions of power of our Imperial Government. We see now with amazing clearness that a military autocracy, for which Count Hertling and Herr von Kühl-

mann are but fig leaves, rules over it solely and alone.

The man who really governs, namely, General Ludendorff, should be placed in the Chancellor's chair. The annexations must be completed, the conflict with England fought out to annihilation. That is Count Westarp's gospel. The conflict must be fought out, even though the German people go down in the process.

Herr von Kühlmann should have looked through all the Pan-German literature if he thinks that no intelligent man in Germany thinks of world dominion. As he will now have leisure to occupy himself with it outside of office, I am ready to place the material at his disposal. . . .

Herr Stresemann also has spoken of our victory. How often have we heard this

prophecy? Herr Helfferich and Admiral Capelle told us in committee in 1917 that America could not enter the war and that her military significance was equal to nil. Today 700,000 Americans stand on French soil, and one hears no more of the U-boat booty resulting from the hunt after American transport ships.

We can only, therefore, regard with the deepest distrust Westarp's and Stresemann's announcements that Kühlmann's speech of yesterday has been completely smashed down by the Chancellor's of today. Have the plans concerning Longwy and frontier adjustments in the Vosges been given up? We have no ground to assume that the Imperial Government has unconditionally rejected them.

REGARDING BELGIUM

No word has been uttered concerning Belgium. That attack was not to be justified, not even by Bethmann Hollweg's proclaimed "right of necessity." The declaration of the Council of Flanders is an imposture, [Machwerk.] Every intelligent Fleming turns away from it with contempt. [Great disturbance and cries of "Shame!"] This fact cannot be abolished by any cry of "Shame!"

The peace resolution was stillborn on July 19, 1918. [Laughter.] It has not lived. The Centre and the Progressives have openly declared their abandonment of it.

Has the Government done everything to win confidence in its respectability and chivalry from its adversaries? Russian prisoners of war are still treated as hostile foreigners, despite the Brest treaty. What has happened to atone for the unheard-of act of violence committed against the Ukraine Rada, and thereby against the conventions of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty?

Soul-stirring appeals for help for the Armenians against the brutal violence of the Turks, who are striving for their complete extinction, have passed unheeded. The victims are counted by hundreds of thousands. And no one has had the courage to redeliver the districts of Batum, Kars, and Ardahan to the Turks. The Turks have not only to discontinue their onward march into the Caucasus, they have to leave the Caucasus altogether.

ABUSES IN RUSSIA

In Livonia and Esthonia the German police power which wished to create order there dwells as in a conquered country and treats the people with the worst arbitrariness. Conditions which absolutely cry to heaven prevail in Riga. Boys 10 years old are condemned to severe punishment by imprisonment because they distributed proclamations to prisoners; and prisoners are tortured in a manner recalling the

worst period of the Czar's rule. German military power has everywhere acted as the cutthroat of the Russian revolution, as the suppressor of freedom.

In Finland, the White Terror has raged furiously against the working population, and nothing pains us more than the fact that German workers have contributed thereto. Herr Svinhufvud has received his earned wage—he is decorated with the Iron Cross. Perhaps he has sought out in Berlin also an aspirant to the Finnish throne, if the resolution to introduce a monarchy in Finland, which has been forced through by him, is, indeed, to be realized.

The Germans have oppressed the Ukrainian people with a Government of frightful reaction personified in Skoropadski. What is desired respecting Baku? The Georgians declare that Baku does not belong to Georgia. Is it desired to shut off the Soviet Republic from its sources of help? Is it desired to shut it off from the White as from the Black Sea? Is it desired to throttle it economically?

We do not believe in miracles. If things go on according to the will of our military autocracy, Germany will be ruined, if the masses of the people do not comprehend at length that they themselves must take the business in hand. The capitalistic world order is collapsing. An end will only be made of it by the Socialist world order.

SCHEIDEMANN'S SPEECH

The position of the German Government was attacked again on July 3 by the Socialists, in a debate regarding the Rumanian treaty, during which the German Vice Chancellor, von Payer, asserted that Germany desired a "peace by understanding." Philipp Scheidemann, the Socialist leader, asserted that the Socialists objected to many stipulations of the treaty and reserved their attitude toward it. He asked that the Government take the initiative in stopping air raids on open towns.

Reverting to Secretary von Kühlmann's speech of June 24, Herr Scheidemann said that it had created a sensation because "it expressed in the form of a program what has long been known to be the Government's opinion." He added: "Unfortunately, Dr. von Kühlmann was obliged the next day to obliterate the impression caused. His retreat before main headquarters opens 'unpleasant vistas.' Attacking the

Government for not representing its views as a whole, Herr Scheidemann said:

We want a Government which knows, like the army leaders, how to beat its adversary. To the present Government we are unable to vote even a budget.

Georg Ledebour, a Social Democratic leader, was called to order by the President of the Chamber for declaring that "it is the duty of the German proletariat everywhere to issue a summons for a revolution."

Friedrich von Payer, the Imperial Vice Chancellor, replied to Herr Scheidemann.

It is well [he said] that the Socialists' rejection of the budget is merely a demonstration, for if the other parties acted likewise the cause of the Fatherland and freedom would not be served.

Herr Scheidemann's reference to peace, he added, did not call for a fresh Governmental declaration.

What would result after our previous experiences? [he asked.] The usual result is to excite the people and cause a conflict of view in this country and abroad. One sees, indeed, something that looks like a tiny spark and that evokes hope of better insight on the part of our enemies, but it is in general so weak that the

disadvantages abroad arising from such declarations cannot be outweighed by it.

These disadvantages are that the enemy Governments, in order to maintain cohesion and incite their peoples, give a false meaning to our sincerely meant words, suggesting that they mean we are unable to bring the war to a victorious end.

Herr von Payer assented to Herr Scheidemann's declaration of the German peace terms, "The conclusion of peace with honor and without prejudicing Germany in the peace terms," declaring that the German Government had gone beyond this formula. "We must wait until the enemy's will to war and will to destruction are broken," he added. He defended the army command, and said:

In a war of such duration and importance the civil leaders cannot proceed quite independently of the army leaders, nor vice versa. We cannot dispute the right of the army leaders if they lead us to victory and peace.

The Government, he asserted, would go its way, for that way did not lead to military despotism nor to a peace of conquest, but to a peace of understanding, for which the majority in the House and the entire Government were striving.

Rumanian Peace Treaty Ratified

King Ferdinand Accepts the Terms

THE Rumanian Peace Treaty was ratified by the German Reichstag on July 3, 1918, and by the Rumanian Senate on July 6. Ratification by Austria was postponed until the meeting of the Reichsrat in August. There was a bitter discussion in the German House before the treaty was agreed to. The Imperial Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Herr von Kühlmann, spoke as follows:

As the question is by far the most thorny of the matters dealt with in the Rumanian Peace Treaty, and still offers considerable difficulties, I feel obliged once more formally to declare before this high House that it was never the intention of the negotiators, and never the intention of the Governments of the allied Central Powers, that the condominium in the Northern Dobrudja should be anything but a temporary measure, that there

has never for a moment been any doubt on the subject among the allied Central Powers, and that, above all, we never desired to doubt the wishes and aspirations of our loyal and brave Bulgarian ally respecting this land, to which historical and national ties bind Bulgaria.

We all take the standpoint that this provisional arrangement, which we desire shall be as short as possible, must find its natural solution in the union of the Northern Dobrudja with Bulgaria in accordance with the desires of the Bulgarian people. As in the present case it is a matter of differences of opinion between two of our allies, differences of opinion which we are all convinced can be bridged, and, with good-will on both sides, will be bridged, we must, as being bound by exactly equal ties to our two allies, Bulgaria and Turkey, carefully avoid everything which could evoke the impression abroad that German policy, that the substantial factors of German public life, favored the wishes and claims

of one at the expense of the other. Any such idea could only lead to delaying and rendering more difficult the speedy solution of the question which we all hope for.

DOBRUDJA PROBLEM

The question of the Dobrudja or that of the compensation which is due to our loyal Turkish ally, if this question be solved in the Bulgarian sense, has in a high degree excited the public opinion of both countries, and the public opinion of the two countries is still looking with keen attention for every expression of opinion from the great friendly States of the Central Powers, and from this point of view I would prefer not to oppose an opinion which has been expressed today in the House, but to interpret it.

The Deputy, Dr. Stresemann, used a phrase which might cause the impression that there was an inclination on our part in favor of Bulgarian wishes and to lay less weight on the just claims of our Turkish ally. I am convinced that this interpretation was very far from Dr. Stresemann's mind. There is nothing further from the minds both of the Imperial Government and the entire public, especially the big leading parties of this House, than to desire to favor the wishes and aspirations of one ally at the expense of the other.

One note sounded today in many speeches was a certain mistrust of Rumania, which persists even after the conclusion of peace. Certainly after the experiences of this war complete and undivided trust cannot return immediately. Policy and public opinion will necessarily continue to adopt a waiting attitude toward the development of things in that country, formerly a friend of ours, but this judgment must not be marked by open mistrust. In my opinion, the history of the events preceding the war, which I will not here go into, absolutely proves that the great majority of the Rumanian people were driven into this war against their will by a small number of partly selfish, partly light-minded, partly criminal politicians and business men.

Herr Ledebour here interjected, "just as in other countries, too," and a voice from the Right said, "Where then? In America, perhaps?" Herr von Kühlmann continuing, said:

The attitude hitherto adopted by the Rumanian Cabinet with which we concluded peace gives a guarantee, so far as I can see, that those persons whose guilt can be shown will be brought to account, and the fact that this comes from the Rumanian people of their own free will, without any attempt at pressure from outside, gives this action of national atone-

ment its true worth for us also, and it will depend on the carrying out of this action of national atonement how the further course of Rumanian policy is judged by our public opinion at large.

Herr von Kühlmann combated Herr Ledebour's closing remarks in the most emphatic and decided manner, saying that not only the house of Hohenzollern but also all the German princely houses had always worked, striven, and conquered in exemplary intimate union with the people. "I believe," he concluded, "that in these hard times no German looks up to his Kaiser otherwise than with a feeling of respect and gratitude. The German Princes, especially the Hohenzollerns, stand too high for utterances such as that to which we have just listened with great regret to be able even to soil their boots."

DYNASTIES DENOUNCED

Herr Grober (Centre Party) praised the Rumanian Treaty, and expressed the hope of a speedy settlement of the question of the Northern Dobrudja and of the Bulgaro-Turkish frontier dispute about the territory near Adrianople, and said that the Southern Dobrudja must fall to Bulgaria.

Count Westarp (Conservative) said the peace treaty safeguarded the Hungarian frontier by acquisitions of territory, and the same course must be taken to safeguard the frontiers of Germany. States which disregarded their obligations toward Germany must not go unpunished; they should remember this when the British rule of violence demanded that they should participate in the destruction of Germany.

According to the Rheinisch Westfälische Zeitung, Herr Stresemann (National Liberal) said: "We might have wished that the Rumanian dynasty had disappeared. There is ever the danger that Bucharest remains an Entente nest where threads can be spun against Germany."

According to the Vorwärts Herr Ledebour, Independent Socialist, said:

The demand is made for the punishment of the tormentors of German prisoners in Rumania. We approve of that, but we demand the same also respecting similar

occurrences in Germany. Count Westarp regrets that his treaty was concluded with the Hohenzollern dynasty in Rumania. We are of opinion that dynasties are everywhere doing mischief. Accounts will be settled in the Reichstag with the dynasties which have driven their people to destruction by a wrong policy. A beginning is made with the Hohenzollerns in Rumania, and the turn of the others will come later. We desire no punishment of foreign peoples, no introduction of a spirit of revenge into peace treaties, but the establishment of peace and friendship with all peoples. The peace treaties so far concluded are only armistice treaties containing the germs of later wars.

KING FERDINAND'S SPEECH

The following was the speech from the throne delivered by King Ferdinand at the opening of the Rumanian Parliament in Jassy, June 18, 1918:

Senators and Deputies: Now, as ever, it gives me lively satisfaction to be in the midst of the nation's representatives. Coming from the recent general election, you bring me the real feelings of the country concerning the hard decisions which are under our careful examination.

Thrown on its own resources, our country with noble and high-minded patriotism has sacrificed the flower of its brave sons, but the prolongation of armed resistance would have exhausted its strength to the point of destruction, and Rumania has concluded a peace which was forced upon her as a necessary condition of her existence. In accordance with the prescription of the Constitution, the terms of the peace treaty will forthwith be submitted to the Legislature for approval. This treaty manifestly imposes painful sacrifices upon the nation, but the Rumanian people will examine it with that manliness which exact comprehension of the State's interests in face of the real position lends.

Meanwhile, let us thank Heaven that precisely in the hour of these trials the feeling of belonging to a common race has brought back to the mother country the beautiful Moldavian land which was torn from the soil of our fathers, and has thrown the Bessarabian people into her arms in order to enhance her strength for labor and her faith in the future. The good reception which this great event met with on the part of the powers with whom we have been negotiating concerning peace has paved the way for the restoration of our friendship as it existed in the past. While maintaining good relations with other countries, we will endeavor to resume normal relations with the new States which are in the course of formation.

Senators and Deputies, the Finance Minister is unable as yet to submit to you

the normal Budget, for which the country will assuredly consent to make the requisite sacrifices. He will, however, lay before you a series of measures to enable the National Treasury to reduce the burden upon it and to satisfy the extraordinary requirements with which we are faced.

The crowning point of your work will be the fixing of the points of our Constitution, which we must revise so that in the shortest period and before any other constitutional change we may carry out agrarian reform and awaken the lower classes of the nation to real political life.

FORMER PREMIER'S VIEWS

Take Ionescu, the Rumanian ex-Premier, in a statement made July 4, asserted that Marghiloman, the present Premier, was simply a tool of the Germans, and that 99 per cent. of the Rumanian people were sympathetic with the Entente Allies. He said:

Germany is despoiling us of everything. Our grain, petroleum, wool, timber, and horses are being ruthlessly carried off to the Central Empires. According to the treaty the Germans should pay us for the grain, whereas, as a matter of fact, we have to turn it over to them at a price of \$395 the truckload, which is four times less than the cost price, while their Ukrainian grain costs them \$2,780. The German Government knows that in these conditions the farmers will have no laborers available for agriculture, and so has to reintroduce slavery, obliging the Marghiloman Cabinet to pass a law forcing work upon all up to 60 years of age.

The German General Bank of Bucharest is issuing paper money to the value of milliards and will continue to do so till the conclusion of a European peace. Meantime the treaty constrains us to pass these enormous quantities of notes.

Our liabilities in compensation for damages to the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish interests from the outset of the war are estimated at over three billions. We are further forced to pay all requisitions without anybody having the slightest approximate idea of what they amount to. We have also to maintain six divisions of Austro-German troops. The 3,650 square miles of territory of which we have been robbed, with its 170 towns and villages, has left Rumania without mountains and without natural frontiers.

The Germans have the great petroleum wells in working order again, have seized all the lands in their neighborhood, and have confiscated all the property belonging to foreign companies. Through-

out the oil region and along the Danube hundreds of motor lorries and wherries painted with the inscription "Kaiser-

liche Deutsche Marine" are busy landing and bearing off petrol for the enemy's submarines.

Germany's Control of the Danube

THE full text of the treaty known as the Peace of Bucharest, which was signed by Rumania and the Central Powers May 7, 1918, places the navigation of the Danube practically in the control of the Central Powers. The Entente Powers have informed the Rumanian Government that they do not recognize the treaty. The text of the chapter relating to the Danube follows:

CHAPTER VI.—REGULATION OF THE DANUBE NAVIGATION

Article XXIV.—Rumania shall conclude a new Danube Navigation act with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey regulating the legal position on the Danube from the point where it becomes navigable, with due regard to the provisions subsequently set forth under A to D, and on condition that the provisions under B shall apply equally for all parties to the Danube act. Negotiations regarding the new Danube Navigation act shall begin in Munich as soon as possible after the ratification of the peace treaty.

A. Under the name of the Danube Mouth Commission, the European Danube Commission shall be maintained as a permanent institution with the powers, privileges, and obligations hitherto appertaining to it, for the river from Braila downward, inclusive of this port.

(1) The commission shall henceforth consist only of representatives of the States situated on the Danube or the European coasts of the Black Sea.

(2) The commission's authority extends from Braila downward to the whole of the arms and mouths of the Danube and the adjoining parts of the Black Sea. The orders issued by the Commissioner for the Sulina arm of the river shall be correspondingly applied to those arms, or parts of an arm, with which the commission has hitherto not been competent or exclusively competent to deal.

B. Rumania guarantees to the ships of the other contracting parties free navigation on the Rumanian Danube, including its harbors. Rumania shall levy no tolls on the ships or rafts of the contracting parties and their cargoes, merely for the navigation of the river. Neither shall Rumania in future levy on the river any dues or imposts save those permitted by the new Danube Navigation act.

C. The Rumanian ad valorem duty of one-

half of 1 per cent. on goods imported into and exported from that country's ports shall be abolished when the new Danube Navigation act comes into force and as soon as Rumania shall have introduced duties, in conformity with the new Danube Navigation act, for the use of public institutions which serve to develop shipping and the transport of goods, at the latest, five years after the ratification of the present peace treaty. The goods and rafts arriving on the Danube for expedition will not be subject to a traffic tax in Rumania on account of this expedition.

D. The cataract and Iron Gates sections to which the provisions of Article VI. of the Treaty of London of March 13, 1871, and Article LVII. of the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, relate, comprise the sections of the river from O, in Moldavia, [referring to the map used by the contracting parties, which is not yet available,] to Turno-Severin, in their whole breadth from one bank to the other, including all the arms of the river and islands lying between them.

Consequently the obligations with regard to maintenance of the navigability of the cataract and Iron Gates sections, which were taken over by Austria-Hungary on the ground of the provisions of Paragraph 1 referred to, and were transferred to Hungary to carry out, as also the special privileges which accrued to Hungary from this, pass henceforth to the sections of the Danube more closely described in Paragraph 1. The States bordering this part of the river shall grant Hungary all the facilities which should be required of this State in the interest of the works to be carried out there by it.

Article XXV.—Until the Danube Mouth Commission meets, Rumania shall regularly administer the whole of the property of the European Danube Commission in its possession, and protect it from damage. Immediately after the signature of the peace treaty, a commission, consisting of at least two representatives of each of the contracting parties, shall satisfy itself as to the condition of the material held in custody by Rumania. A special agreement shall be concluded with regard to Rumania's obligation to immediate temporary surrender of this material.

Article XXVI.—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Rumania have the right to maintain warships on the Danube. These may navigate downstream as far as the sea, and upstream as far as the upper frontier of the territory of their respective States. They must not, however, enter into communication with the shore of another State, or put in there except in case of force

majeure, or unless the consent of the State in question be obtained through diplomatic channels. The powers represented on the Danube Mouth Commission have the right to maintain two light warships each, as guardships, at the mouth of the Danube. These

may put in as far up as Braila without special authority.

All rights and privileges appertaining to warships are preserved to the warships mentioned in Paragraphs 1 and 2, in the harbors and waters of the Danube.

Protest of Rumanians in Exile Against the Treaty of Bucharest

THE Rumanian people has been struck out of the ranks of free nations.

The peace which the Central Powers have imposed upon Rumania is the very negation of the political and economic independence of our native country. The treaty which embodies it is an instrument of hatred and vengeance wielded by a violent hand in contempt of the most elementary principles of justice. The Rumanian people cannot accept it. Rumania entered the war and took her place beside the powers of the Entente for the sake of liberty and democracy. Inspired by the hope of the unity and independence of the whole Rumanian people, she sprang to arms and for this ideal hundreds and thousands of Rumanians have poured out their blood. The Rumanian people can never consent to renounce their own national *raison d'être*.

Rumania's destruction has been brought about by a threefold treason, in which the Czar, the Bolsheviki, and, finally, the Ukraine Rada, have played their part. Surrounded, completely cut off from her allies, forced to renounce all hope of receiving even the least military assistance, and deprived of every means of supply and exhausted by her own strenuous efforts, and stricken by wounds and diseases, Rumania capitulated. But her valiant spirit has not lost confidence in the justice of the Rumanian cause or in the certainty of the final victory of right. Her enemies have imposed upon her what they call a peace of German friendship. It is in reality a most cruel and insulting enslavement; military enslavement through the loss of the Carpathian chain; political enslavement by the introduction of German

overseers in all the great departments of State; commercial enslavement through the rape of the Dobrudja, the only maritime province in Rumania, and by enemy control of the navigation of the Danube; industrial enslavement by the seizure of the oil wells, which constitute the principal mineral wealth of the country; financial enslavement by control of our whole export trade and especially of our principal product, grain. Such is the condition of political and economic serfdom to which the Germano-Turanians desire to reduce Rumania. Might has vanquished right. Germany has trodden under foot the sacred principles of liberty and justice in defense of which the friendly nations of the west are now fighting in alliance. We Rumanians living in freedom, though in exile, in the noble and hospitable land of France, raise our voices in protest against this monstrous crime, and the sound of our protest is but an echo of the sentiments of the entire Rumanian Nation. The Act of Bucharest is no treaty of peace, it is a flagrant contradiction of the notions of peace, for it is not based upon the consent of those upon whom it is imposed. Indeed, the clauses of the treaty exclude the free consent of Rumania—in a word, the treaty is an act of violence committed by a pitiless enemy.

The Rumanian people disarmed and at the mercy of German bayonets, having neither freedom of action nor of opinion, is thus deprived of all liberty to record its protest against this despoiling peace, but it turns in mute appeal toward its great allies, full of confidence and hope. The interests of the Rumanian Nation are one with the interests of the great western democracies. Rumania

standing at the gates of the Balkan Peninsula forms a bulwark against the German advance southward toward Asia.

In the name of the Rumanian people we openly declare ourselves the allies of the Entente Powers and we proclaim the Treaty of Bucharest in every respect null and void. And in the very act of recording our protest we appeal to the allied Governments in the name of the Rumanian people, praying them not to abandon Rumania but to recognize her just claims. In the twentieth century the liberty of nations, like the liberty of the individual citizen, should be sacred. Neither force nor the written word of the treaty can destroy the inalienable right of every people to national unity and independence. History will not recognize any convention which is based upon a denial of these elementary rights.

As interpreters of the sentiments of our race, we address this protest to the Governments and to the peoples who are now fighting and enduring sacrifices for a generous ideal. We ask from you all justice and liberty.

Signed on behalf of the Committee of the Rumanian Colony in Paris, the Committee of Rumanians from Transylvania and Bukovina, and the Rumanian Delegates to the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities:

C. Olanesco, former Minister, President of the Rumanian Chamber of Deputies; E. A. Pangratl, former Minister, Rector of Bucharest University; C. Angekesco, former Minister, Professor of Bucharest University; Paul Bratashano, Vice President of the Chamber and the Senate, member of the Editorial Board of *La Rumanie*; V. Atanasovici, Senator; George Cavadia, Senator; D. Draghicesco, Senator; J. Gavanescu, Senator, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Jassy; Dr.

Thoma Jonnesco, Senator, Rector of Bucharest University; Emile Miclesco, Senator, Director General of Railways; G. G. Mironesco, Senator, Professor of Bucharest University; St. Popp, Senator; St. S. Russenesco, Senator; R. Zmeureanu, Senator; A. Alexandresco, Deputy; E. Antonesco, Deputy, Professor of Bucharest University; D. Apostolu, Deputy; E. Canano, Deputy, President of the Order of Rumanian Advocates; Léon Cantacuzène, Deputy; Jean Th. Floresco, Vice President of the Rumanian Chamber; N. P. Guran, Deputy, President of the Order of Rumanian Advocates; Spiru D. Lalu, Deputy; Dr. N. Lupu, Deputy; D. G. Many, Deputy, Professor of *L'Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées*, Secretary General of the Ministry of Finance; Const. Mille, Deputy, member of the Editorial Board of *La Rumanie*, Director of the journals *Adeverul* and *Dimineatza*; C. L. Patzouri, Deputy; Pascal Tonesco, Deputy; P. Vasilescu, Deputy; St. Hépites, member of the Rumanian Academy; V. Dimitriu, Professor of Jassy University; D. Hurmuzesco, Professor of Bucharest University, Secretary General of the Ministry of Public Instruction; Trajan Lalesco, Professor of Bucharest University; C. Sipsom, Professor of Bucharest University; O. Tafrali, Professor of Jassy University; J. Ursu, Professor of Jassy University; D. Voinov, Professor of Bucharest University; A. Atanasii, professor; A. Bagdad; P. Barozzi, Commissioner; General Cocea; C. Cretzu, lawyer; M. Dancovici, lawyer; Emile D. Fagure, Chief Editor of the journals *Adeverul* and *Dimineatza*, member of the Editorial Board of *La Rumanie*; J. Fermo, publicist; Z. Florian, professor; C. Jancoulesco, engineer; Léon Lahovary; St. Moraresco Adria; A. Nicolesco, architect; I. Paraschivesco, lawyer; R. Pleshoyno, engineer; S. Popini; G. Raut; N. S. Russenesco, agriculturist; A. Zeuceano, lawyer; Traian Vuia, President of the National Committee of Rumanians from Transylvania and Bukovina; Dionisie Axentie, Jean Bortes, Moga, Joseph Mureseano, Nicoara, Patruca, Jean Tisca, Joseph Tisca, members of the National Committee of Rumanians from Transylvania and Bukovina.

Paris, 10-23 May, 1918.

Rumania and Bessarabia

By A. RUBIN

[Attaché to the Rumanian Legation at Washington]

AS an article published in the June issue of your very interesting magazine, under the heading, "The Rumanian Nation," (Page 385,) gives rather an inadequate view of the Bessarabian question, I send you this so as to vindicate a point of history. The Princi-

pality of Wallachia—also known in the fourteenth century as "Bessarabia," from the name of her sovereigns of the House of Bessarab—conquered during that epoch the southern part of the region lying between the Pruth, the Dniester, and the Danube, the northern part being

under the Moldavian crown; that region thus became a province of "Bessarabia." Later, the name of Bessarabia fell into disuse for Wallachia proper, and was preserved only by that part of the country which had been more closely connected with the Princes of that name, being their conquest and, one might say, their creation, as before their time it was little better than a "steppe" of roving Tartars.

The earliest historical origins of Bessarabia are thus purely Rumanian-Wallachian in the south, Moldavian in the north. In the succeeding centuries Wallachia declined and the entire region between the Pruth, the Danube, and the Dniester came under Moldavian rule. Save for Turkish encroachments on the southern border, this situation lasted until 1812, when the Russians annexed the province. As the decadence of the Principality of Moldavia had then reached its worst stage, Moldavia protested in vain, and the Turks, availing themselves of their right of suzerainty, consented to the grievous mutilation by which Moldavia lost half its territory, and which brought its capital within fifteen miles of the border. The Russians extended to the whole of their newly acquired possession the appellation of "Bessarabia."

After the Crimean war, the southern part of Bessarabia was restored to the Principality of Moldavia, which, still nominally under Turkish suzerainty, was really, now, under the joint protection of the great powers and virtually independent. When the two Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia united in 1859 to form Rumania, Bessarabia naturally became also a Rumanian province.

When Russia declared war against Turkey in 1877, she did not at that time announce to Rumania that she sought the restoration of that strip of land. On the contrary, as the Rumanian Government felt some misgivings because of information received from Vienna and other capitals which seemed to point that way, the Rumanian Delegate, during the discussion of the terms of the Military Convention with Russia, insisted that Russia should pledge herself to respect,

not only "the integrity of the Rumanian territory," as the first draft was worded, but "the integrity of the present Rumanian territory"; in the French text, "l'intégrité actuelle * * *" (Art. 2 of that convention,) and the correction was accepted by the Russian Government; the treaty accordingly modified was signed on April 16, 1877.

Rumania was thus entitled to believe that the question was settled once for all, and her gallant soldiers gave most precious help to the Russians before Plevna and elsewhere. Unfortunately, Russia was not true to her word, signed peace without even consulting her ally—an anticipation of 1918—and informed Rumania that she was to give up Bessarabia. As Rumanian public opinion protested hotly against this unwarrantable breach of faith, Russia tried to suppress the protests of the country through terror, and threatened to disarm the army that had just been fighting alongside of her own soldiers. To this menace Prince Charles replied fittingly that the Rumanian Army might be crushed, but never disarmed. (Spring of 1878.)

The dispute went up before the Berlin Congress, but while the justice of Rumania's cause was recognized, circumstances were against her, for Austria had been bribed by the cession of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the other great powers were loath to come to a break with Russia on a question that was not vital for their interests. Rumania had thus to agree to exchange Bessarabia for Dobrudja, a Turkish province which had also belonged to Rumania in the Middle Ages.

During the time Bessarabia remained in Russian hands little civilizing work was done. Although it was one of the richest agricultural provinces of Southern Russia, it lacked roads and railways, and as the Rumanian language was persecuted and its use forbidden in Church and School, the result was that the population was left in the blackest ignorance. Now that Bessarabia is again a part of the mother country it is to be hoped that she will soon be able to efface the sad traces left by Russian tyranny, anarchy, and general misrule.

Bessarabia's Historical Background

[BY D. N. CIOTORI IN THE NEW EUROPE]

FOR more than five centuries (fourteenth to nineteenth) Bessarabia was an integral part of the Rumanian Principalities. Even before 1300 the dynasty of the Bessarabs, the builders of Wallachia, extended their power on both sides of the Danube as far as the sea; and on the death of Mircea the Old (1418) the Dobrudja of our days as well as the fortresses of Chilia and Cetatea Alba, or the southern part of Bessarabia, were among the Wallachian dominions. The name itself is a reminder of the dominating power of the Bessarabs over the southern districts of that country, the extent of which is revealed in the words of the Polish chronicler, Broniovius, in 1579: "*Moldaviae et Valachiae inferioris pars quae olim Bessarabia dicta fuit.*" Today Bessarabia comprises the territory bordered by the Pruth, the Dniester, and the Black Sea, covering an area of about 17,620 square miles.

At the opening of the nineteenth century Bessarabia was still under the domination of the Moldavian crown, but in 1812 Russia proposed to annex the whole of Moldavia as the price of her victories against the Turks. Napoleon, however, who was then preparing his great campaign against the Russians, urged the Turks not to conclude peace on that basis; and doubtless they would have continued to resist the Russians had it not been that Moruzzi, the Dragoman of the Porte, sold Napoleon's secret to the Russians, who then hastened to sign peace, contenting themselves with Bessarabia as the spoil of war. Thus the Rumanians of Bessarabia were severed from their kinsmen of the two Danubian Principalities; and the injustice was only partially repaired in the Crimean War in 1856, when the southern districts of Cahul, Ismail, and Bolgrad were restored to Rumania. But at the Berlin Congress (1878) Bismarck and Andrassy, in their anxiety to prevent a rapprochement between Russia and Rumania, prompted the Russian Government to lay

hands upon Bessarabia once more—the land and home of the very Rumanian soldiers who had been fighting faithfully shoulder to shoulder with the Russians at Plevna.

After this annexation the commercial importance of Bessarabia waned, and her territory became an asylum for all kinds of political adventurers, strange religious sects, and the ragtag and bobtail of all East European nationalities. But beneath this frothy cosmopolitan surface the main current of Bessarabian life remained true, and never lost its essential Rumanian character. Despite all the efforts of the Russian Government to denationalize the population by the influence of the clergy, a bureaucracy, and an apostate nobility, the "Moldavians," as they call themselves, have clung tenaciously to their Rumanian nationality and have never forsaken the Rumanian language. Only in one or two cases, such as the great families of Purishkievitch and Krupenski, do we find any successful instance of this Russian policy of denationalization.

Throughout the nineteenth century Bessarabia retained her Rumanian character. In 1812, according to the reports of the Rumanian Academy in 1889, there were 350,000 Rumanians and 30,000 of other nationalities. Fifty years later an officer of the Russian General Staff, in a report on the Bessarabian Government, concluded that three-quarters of the whole population of the province were Rumanian. The Russian official statistics of 1890 and 1900 bear much the same witness, while an authentic and authoritative ethnographical chart published by the French historian, Rambaud, shows clearly that the Rumanians form an absolute majority of the population.

It is particularly important at this moment to remember that the Rumanian claim to Bessarabia rests on a firm foundation of history and upon the indisputable Rumanian character of the

present population. It is therefore unjust and untrue to say that Rumania receives the offer of Bessarabia from the blood-stained hand of Germany as compensation for the humiliating peace imposed upon her. Robbing Peter to pay Paul is not honest commerce; and no one who knows the facts can admit that it is only as a matter of grace that Rumania can be allowed to annex Bessarabia. Revolutionary Russia, at all events, has recognized the right of the Bessarabian population to choose their own destiny, and by the self-determina-

tion thus accorded to them they elected a national assembly, which, by eighty-six votes to three, asked for re-union with Rumania. Thus an old injustice has been undone by New Russia, while a new and even more flagrant wrong has been committed by Germany. When Rumania emerges from her present nightmare, we may well believe that she will turn to the free Russian people, emancipated both from tyranny and from anarchy, in the hope of finding with them a friendly and peaceful basis for a new international co-operation.

Pershing at the Tomb of Lafayette

By AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR

They knew they were fighting our war. As the months grew to years
 Their men and their women had watched through their blood and their tears
 For a sign that we knew, we who could not have come to be free
 Without France, long ago. And at last from the threatening sea
 The stars of our strength on the eyes of their weariness rose,
 And he stood among them, the sorrow-strong hero we chose
 To carry our flag to the tomb of that Frenchman whose name
 A man of our country could once more pronounce without shame.
 What crown of rich words would he set for all time on this day?
 The past and the future were listening what he would say—
 Only this, from the white-flaming heart of a passion austere,
 Only this—ah, but France understood! "Lafayette, we are here."



Bombing Hospitals

Testimony of Army Chaplains—Description of the Horrors

The bombing of hospitals by German airplanes in Flanders and Northern France is established on unquestioned evidence. In every instance proof was furnished that the hospitals were conspicuously marked, and there could not have been any doubt of their character. Colonel G. H. Andrews, Chaplain of a Canadian regiment, who arrived in New York on June 28, 1918, after three years' service overseas, described a German air attack on a hospital which took place May 29, 1918.

THE building bombed was one of three large Red Cross hospitals at Boulennes and was filled with allied wounded. A hospital in which were a number of wounded German prisoners stood not very far away.

"The Germans could not possibly have mistaken the building they bombed for anything else but a hospital," said Colonel Andrews. "There were flags with a red cross flying, and lights were turned on them so that they would show prominently. And the windows were brilliantly lighted. Those inside heard the buzz of the advancing airplanes, but did not give them a thought.

"The machines came right on, ignoring the hospital with the German wounded, indicating they had full knowledge of their objective, until they were over a wing of the Red Cross hospital that contained the operating room on the ground floor. In the operating room a man was on the table for a most difficult surgical feat. Around him were gathered the staff of the hospital and its brilliant surgeons. Lieutenant Sage of New York had just given him the anaesthetic when one of the airplanes let the bomb drop. It was a big fellow. It must have been all of 250 pounds of high explosive.

WOUNDED FALL THROUGH FLOORS

"It hurtled downward, carrying the two floors before it. Through the gap thus made wounded men, the beds in which they lay, convalescents, and all on the floors came crashing down to the ground. The bomb's force extended itself to wreck the operating room, where the man on the table, Lieutenant Sage, and all in the room were killed. In all

there were thirty-seven lives lost, including three Red Cross nurses.

"The building caught fire. The concussion had blown the stairs down, so that escape from the upper floors seemed impossible. But the convalescents and the soldiers, who had run to the scene of the bombing, let the very ill ones out of the windows, and escape was made that way.

"And then, to cap the climax, the German airplanes returned over the spot of their ghastly triumph and fired on the rescuers with machine guns. God will never forgive the Huns for that act alone. Nor will our comrades ever forget it."

The statement of Colonel Andrews was corroborated by a number of other officers.

DESCRIBED TO THE KING

The following first-hand account was given to King George of England by a Chaplain of the army on June 6, 1918, of an aerial attack upon a hospital in France by the Germans:

The hospital was a very large one, which received and evacuated something like 30,000 patients in thirty days. The particular section attacked was the Canadian section. The institution was situated near a railway and a small town, and while the Germans had a gun permanently trained on the town and had done much damage there, and had, moreover, consistently raided the neighborhood, the hospital had never previously been attacked, thus supplying proof positive that the nature of the place was well known, and that the German gunners and airmen had deliberately left it alone in accordance with the common practice of international law, the requirements of the Treaty of Berne, and the ordinary dictates of humanity.

The outrageous departure from this practice took place at about 12:30, (midnight.) Two machines appeared on the scene and

dropped three bombs. Two of the missiles fell on the outer wards, but one, a large incendiary bomb, fell plumb into the centre of the hospital, and caused a large conflagration. Forty-five nurses were in the hospital at the time, and all behaved with splendid heroism and self-sacrifice. An operation was actually in progress, and all concerned—surgeons, nurses, and patient—were killed.

On the second floor were a great many officers who were to have been evacuated two days later and to have gone home. Many fatalities occurred among them, and all the Sergeants on this floor were either killed or wounded. Three nurses and an American surgeon were among the killed, and many were badly maimed.

Although the fire lighted up the whole scene, one Hun machine returned and dropped two bombs, after which the enemy turned his machine gun upon the staff, nurses, and patients who were striving to get the occupants into the open.

During the attack the nurses steadfastly refused to take cover or avail themselves of such protection as would have been afforded by getting beneath the beds. On the contrary, they did their utmost to cheer and comfort the patients, gave them pillows with which to cover up their heads, and did for them everything that was possible. Even so, patients were killed or wounded, and many of these devoted women paid for their pluck and resource by cruel maiming from the brutal and deliberate savagery to which they were subjected.

PROTEST BY CONAN DOYLE

The following protest was issued in May by the author, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, against the bombing of hospitals:

It is our own nerveless policy which exposes us to the outrages of the Huns. They will do what they think they can do with impunity, and they will avoid that which entails punishment. When Miss Cavell was shot we should at once have shot our three leading prisoners. When Captain Fryatt was murdered we should have executed two submarine Captains. These are the arguments which the German mentality can understand. Two years ago you allowed me to plead in your columns for the bombing of the Rhine towns, and now, when at last it is partly done, we at once hear the cry for a truce in such warfare—the very result which I had predicted. But alas for the two wasted years! Now we have to deal with the bombing of hospitals. German prisoners should at once be picketed among the tents, and the airman captured should be shot, with a notice that such will be the fate of all airmen who are captured in such attempts. We have law and justice on our side. If they attempt a reprisal, then our own counter-reprisals must be sharp, stern, and re-

lentless. If we are to have war to the knife, then let it at least be equal for both parties.

ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE.

Windlesham, Crowborough, Sussex, May 24.

PROTEST TO THE PRUSSIAN ORDER OF ST. JOHN

The Special Chapter of the Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem held a meeting at London May 14, 1918, the Duke of Connaught (Grand Prior) presiding, and resolved that the following communication be sent to the Grand Master of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg and members of the Johanniter Orden in Germany—which is the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Prussia—protesting against the sinking of hospital ships, the ill-treatment of sick and wounded prisoners of war, and continued breaches of the Geneva Convention:

14th May, 1918.

We, Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, Prince of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and the Knights of Justice, Knights of Grace, and other members of the said Order in Chapter-General solemnly assembled, desire to approach the most illustrious Grand Master of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, and the Knights of Justice, Knights of Honor, and other members of the Johanniter Orden, with regard to certain belligerent acts committed by the Imperial German Government during the present war, which appear to us to be opposed to the declarations, maxims, and professions of our ancient and illustrious Order of Christian Chivalry. Strongly imbued with the spirit of our order, we would beg of the noble members of the Johanniter Orden to petition his Imperial Majesty the German Emperor and exercise their influence with the Imperial German Government to prevent henceforth the sinking of hospital ships, to foster in all camps the humane treatment of sick and wounded prisoners of war, and to observe scrupulously all the provisions of the Geneva Convention. We regret to record our opinion that in these respects the Government of his Imperial Majesty has not always acted up to the ideals and laws of our Christian brotherhood. These objects are so much the purpose and goal for which our ancient order has continually striven that we appeal with the more confidence to its eminent members in Germany, in the hope and belief that they will unite with us in endeavoring to uphold our historic mottoes, "Pro Fide"

and "Pro Utilitate Hominum," and to maintain the highest standard of Christian generosity, chivalry, mercy, and honor.

To the Most Illustrious Grand Master of the Balliwick of Brandenburg of the Johanniter Orden and Knights and Members of the Orden.

The communication is signed by the Duke of Connaught, (Grand Prior,) the Earl of Plymouth, (Sub-Prior,) Colonel Sir Herbert Jekyll, (Chancellor,) and the Right Hon. Evelyn Cecil, (Secretary General.)

HORRORS OF PRISON CAMPS

In the June number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE was printed a full extract of the report of Sir Robert Younger's committee on the treatment of British prisoners in German camps. Since that report was issued (April 11, 1918) other evidence of maltreatment of prisoners was obtained by the Government. The following are typical instances:

One man, who was captured on the morning of March 28, 1918, was made to work for two hours, immediately after he was taken prisoner, serving a German field gun with ammunition and digging out a position for it under British fire. A witness was captured on March 21, 1918, and with about twenty others was taken to a German battery in action and made to carry shells and make a dump of them beside the road near Quéant. At Villers (near Cagnicourt) he was with a party, including warrant officers, N. C. O.'s, and men of the R. A. M. C., who were made to work on roads and light railways. If they did not work hard for eight hours a day they were knocked about with rifle butts or sticks. After a week at Villers they were marched to Ecourt (five miles from the front line) and put in a cage which was within range of the British guns. Here they worked under shell fire and the treatment was worse than they had previously experienced. The witness saw four men set to carry a marquee—a six-man job. Owing to the weight and the state of the ground they fell, whereupon a German Corporal and another man hit them with sticks. One man was thrashed till he lay on the ground

groaning. One working party had a Corporal killed and three men wounded by shell fire.

BEATEN, STARVED, AND UNDER FIRE

A third man reports that after being captured with ten others after dusk on March 24, 1918, they were questioned and marched from place to place for a long time, and he adds: "We were under artillery fire when we rested. This was about 1 P. M. on the 26th, and we had had no food since we were captured on the 24th, and nothing to drink except shell-hole water." This was their fate till dusk, when they tried to escape. One was shot, but the witness arrived in the British lines about 1 o'clock on the afternoon of the 27th. Since dusk on the 24th he had been given no food at all and had had only three hours' sleep.

Another witness says: "I met one man who had been working behind the German lines. He said they were very badly treated * * * many died of weakness. When fresh batches were captured the Germans kept them working in the lines instead of sending them to the registered camps. Either this man or another that I met told me that a man died in his hut and his body was there three days before it was removed."

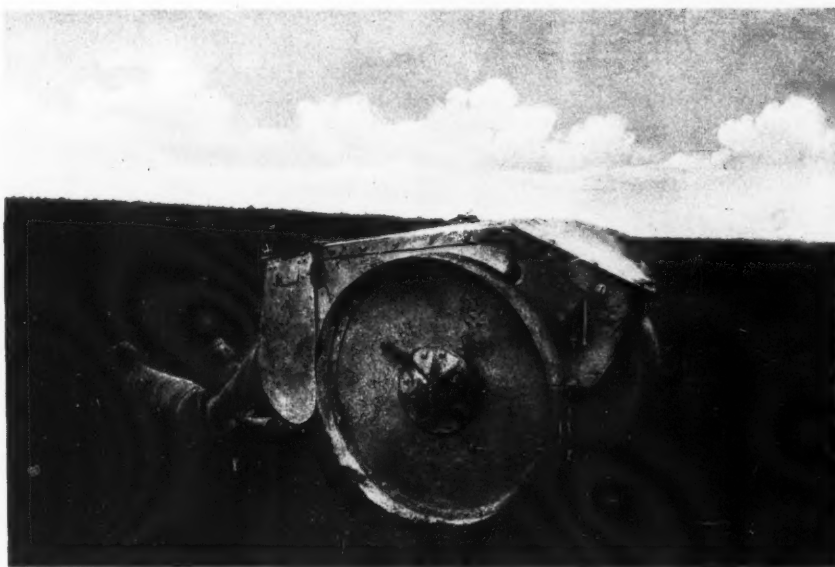
Further testimony: "Four of our prisoners were brought to Meschede while I was there who had been working behind the German lines. It was pitiful to see them; they were nothing but skin and bone. We could hardly recognize them as Englishmen. * * * They were in a terrible state." Though noncombatants, two men of the R. A. M. C. were made by the Germans to work in labor companies at Sagnicourt, Rumancourt, and Ecoust. One was hit in the back with the butt of a rifle by the guard. He saw two men knocked down and one who fainted from weakness, due to overwork and under-feeding.

Another witness was placed in one of the four prisoners' cages outside Cagnicourt, (about eight miles from the firing line.) "There was," he says, "no shelter for two days, and the Germans then put up two huts, which accommodated about 400, sitting down between each other's knees. There were 1,200 in the camp. After being captured they got no food for twenty-four hours." He was told that 200 prisoners had gone to hospital with dysentery, and on the morning he escaped 400 were reported sick.

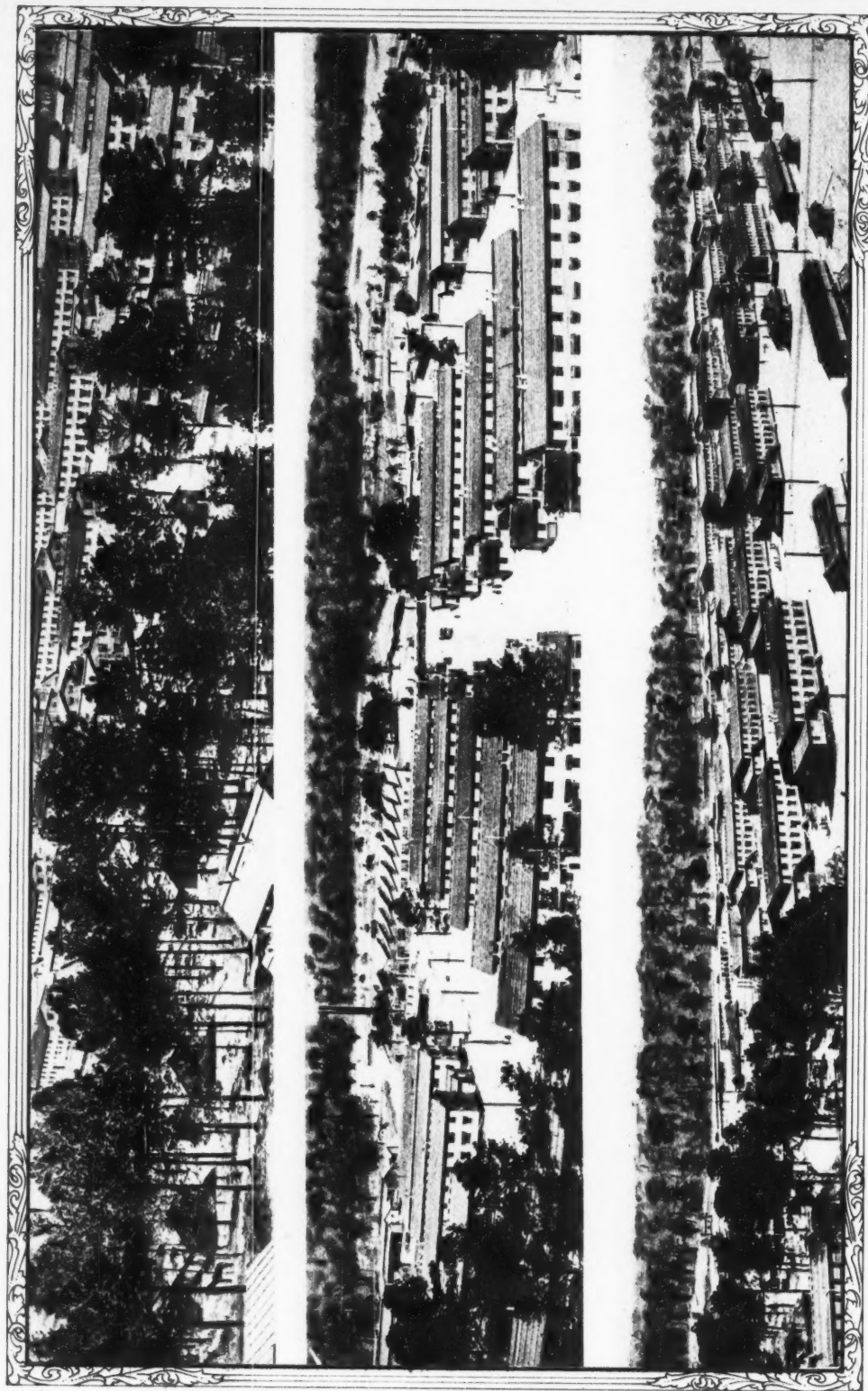




The new British type of tank, which is much faster and lighter than the original model. It is known as the "whippet"
(British Official from Underwood)



Armored man-power tank, used by the French, for cutting barbed wire entanglements
(Inter. Film Service)



PANORAMIC VIEW OF CAMP JACKSON, NEAR COLUMBIA, S. C.
(Photo - Sargent)

Belgian Courts Superseded

All Civil Trials in Flanders Conducted by German Judges in the German Language

[OFFICIAL]

The following account of the arbitrary measures taken by the German authorities in occupied Belgium in matters relating to courts of justice was issued by the Belgian Government in June, 1918:

EVER since the beginning of the invasion the Belgian court, conscious of its high social mission and of the duties which it entails, has never ceased to render justice with complete independence in spite of the difficulties created by the enemy occupation and the rigorous measures taken by the German authorities at the instance of several of its members.

This situation has come to an end; German jurisdiction has been established in Belgium, following upon acts which constitute on the part of the occupying authority an interference in the exercise of the judiciary power, a blow at its independence, and a flagrant disregard of the provinces of the Fourth Hague Convention, signed by Germany.

Guarantees of independence had been solemnly given to the Belgian court by the chief of the German administration, who in a letter dated March 21, 1916, addressed to the Court of Cassation in the name of Governor General von Bisping, wrote as follows:

Any fears which might be entertained in the Belgian court as to the danger to which it was exposed by the German administration—in regard to the independence of the Judge in the exercise of justice, which independence has been guaranteed by the Constitution as well as by the law of nations—are quite without foundation.

As was set forth by M. Terlinden, Procurator General, at the Court of Cassation of Belgium, in his charge Feb. 11, 1918, the Court of Appeals of Brussels was convoked on Feb. 7, in joint session of all the chambers, on the initiative of two of its members, to consider certain acts, discourses, and denunciations emanating from a group of persons, all of Belgian nationality, which took the

title of "Raad van Vlanderen," and which had decreed the independence and autonomy of one part of the Belgian territory. Referring to Article 11 of the law of April 20, 1810, it summoned the Procurator General to cause a search to be made and to seize the authors, co-authors, and accomplices of the acts denounced in conformity with Articles 104, 105, and 110 of the Penal Code, 2 and 3 of the decree of July 20, 1831, and 1 of the law of March 25, 1891.

The next day, Feb. 8, a Counselor of Justice in uniform, alleging that he was acting in the name of the German Governor General, seized the memorandum of this meeting in the Palace of Justice in the private office of the Procurator General, and set at liberty Borms and Tack, arrested that same morning by the presiding Justice.

The next day, Feb. 9, toward evening, the German police arrested at their homes the Judges, Lovy-Morelle, Jamar, Ernst, and Carez, who were interned in the camp of Celle Schloss in Germany. Mr. Jamar, because of the condition of his health, was almost immediately given his liberty.

On Feb. 10 the German authority announced to the Counselors of the Court of Appeals of Brussels that in participating at the meeting of Feb. 7 they had associated themselves with a political manifestation, and that as a consequence it forbade them any further practice of their profession.

On Feb. 11, after having listened to the charge of the Procurator General, Terlinden, the Court of Cassation recalled that the Court of Appeals, sitting in accordance with Article 11 of the law of April 20, 1810, had confined itself to charging its Procurator General to pur-

sue offenders against Belgian nationality under laws still in force, which no decree of the occupying enemy had deprived of their validity; it declared further that the interference of the governing authority was not compatible with the absolute independence of judicial functions nor with the laws which still govern them.

It added that, above all, the arrest of Messrs. Levy-Morelle, Ernst, and Carez, and the suspension of the Counselors of the Brussels Court of Appeals for legally performing their functions of judicature were in direct opposition to the fundamental rules of the law of nations and with the solemn promises made to the court by the Government of the occupying authority; that they constituted a denial of the complete liberty and independence of the Judge in the exercise of his duties, depriving his decisions of the authority which ought to be inherent in judgments.

The Court of Cassation announced as a consequence that, without abdicating its functions, it would suspend its hearings. On Feb. 12 the civil tribunal of the first instance in Brussels, considering especially that, according to the Constitution and laws of the Belgian people, it could exercise its functions only conjointly with the Court of Appeals of the same city, unanimously decided to suspend its activity without abdicating its functions. The commercial tribunal of Brussels declared itself in the same sense in a general assembly on Feb. 13. Successively, the judiciary bodies of the whole country adopted the same line of conduct.

All the attempts made by neutral powers to induce the German authorities to recall the measures taken in regard to the Belgian magistrates—who had done nothing but carry out the obligations which inhered in their position—were in vain.

Under the fallacious pretext of assuring the maintenance of public order and security by the application of Article 43 of The Hague Convention, which he had violated so brazenly, the Governor General in Belgium published on March 26, 1918, a notice announcing the creation of

German tribunals: "Until these tribunals enter upon their duties," he added, "the military commandants are charged with the duty of repressing crimes and delinquencies according to Section 18, third paragraph, of the 'Kaiserliche Verordnung' of Dec. 28, 1899."

A few days later an ordinance dated April 7 appointed German tribunals for repressive measures. According to its terms repressive justice is to be rendered in Belgium by imperial district courts with no duties but to administer the law, (Article 1.) The judiciary language is German, (Article 6;) these tribunals will apply the Penal Code in force in Belgium, and in all cases they will adjudge only such penalties as are listed in the Penal Code of the German Empire, (Article 11.) The procedure will be regulated as to its principles by the code of criminal law for the German Empire, (Article 14.) The decisions rendered are not subject to appeal, (Article 15.)

An ordinance bearing the same date created German tribunals for civil matters. According to this ordinance civil justice will be rendered in the first instance by the imperial district courts; in the second instance by the superior imperial court. Tribunals for arbitration may not be instituted except with the authorization of the chief of the civil administration, (Article 1;) the judiciary language is German, (Article 6.) These tribunals will consider only cases in which the parties, whether as plaintiff or defendant, appellant or witness, guarantee (a) one who is under German jurisdiction, one who is under the jurisdiction of one of the countries allied to the German Empire or of a neutral State; (b) a sequestered German, (Article 10.) The convention which is to be the basis of debate will determine the legislation which the tribunal must apply, (Article 15.) The forms of procedure are in principle those of the code of civil procedure of the German Empire, (Article 16.) Any judgment capable of execution in Germany is likewise capable of it in Belgium, (Article 19.)

Thus, in spite of Article 43 of the rules annexed to the Fourth Convention at The

Hague, foreign jurisdictions are established in Belgium in opposition to the laws and the traditions of the country. The occupant, as a deterrent measure, causes the courts of assizes to disappear; also the guarantee of a double degree of jurisdiction, and of appeal in cassation in case of a violation of the law. Disregarding the most elementary rights of appellants, it prescribes that, throughout the country in the districts where Flemish is the language of intercourse, as well as in those in which French is the language, the judiciary language is to be German. It subjects Belgian citizens to penalties prescribed by the German Penal Code; it regulates the procedure in conformity with German codes.

In civil cases it fixes the competence of these tribunals exclusively where the litigants are under German jurisdiction or under that of a German ally or a neutral State as plaintiff or defendant, or a third party. It concerns itself only with the interests of a subject of the German Empire and of its allies. It subjects the Belgians dragged before these tribunals to a German procedure, regulated by German legislation. In render-

ing decisions on Belgian territory under forms legal in Germany it again violates a principle of international law already contravened by the ordinance of June 16, 1915. Belgian sovereignty has not disappeared by the fact of the occupation. Foreign decisions can have no legal force unless they conform to the legislation of the country where they are to be carried out.

The Government of the King considers that it is its duty to protest against the measures which have been taken by the occupying authority in regard to the judiciary bodies of Belgium, against the deportation of Belgian magistrates to Germany, against the setting up of foreign jurisdictions under conditions which constitute a flagrant violation, especially serious, of international conventions, and against the application of German laws in Belgium. It also believes that it is its duty to call the attention of the neutral States to the fact that the decisions rendered by the German courts established in Belgium in repressive or in civil matters cannot in accordance with the laws of nations serve as a basis for a single act of procedure or of execution abroad.

Worldwide Celebration of July 4

Many Nations, Including Great Britain, Observe
American Independence Day

TO a degree entirely unprecedented, the allied and neutral nations of both hemispheres in 1918 celebrated the Fourth of July as a holiday, thus tendering a friendly tribute to the United States in recognition of its unselfish part in the war. Great Britain, the nation for which the day might be supposed to have the least pleasant associations, celebrated it with a wholeheartedness seldom shown for its own national festivals. All over France the Stars and Stripes waved with the Tricolor, and Paris observed the day as earnestly as any American city. Throughout Algeria and the African provinces of France the Fourth was made a holiday

and the American colors waved amid the tropical foliage. All South America celebrated the day in an unprecedented manner, and it was proclaimed a national holiday in Brazil, Uruguay, and Peru. Australia sent messages of fraternal esteem, and the Ambassador from Japan delivered a speech in which he said: "We trust you, we love you, and, if you will let us, we will walk at your side in loyal good-fellowship down all the coming years."

In London American flags were everywhere in evidence—and so were American soldiers and sailors. The bells of St. Paul's rang a greeting to flags and men, and special celebrations of holy com-

munion were held throughout the diocese of London in honor of the day. The Stars and Stripes flew alongside the Union Jack from the Victoria Tower at Westminster, from the Prime Minister's residence in Downing Street, and from the principal Government offices.

Premier Lloyd George sent the following message of felicitation to General Pershing:

We join with our whole heart in your Fourth of July celebrations. Once a bitter memory, we now know that the events to which you dedicate these rejoicings forced the British Empire back to the path of freedom from which in a moment of evil counsel it had departed.

The entry of the United States Army into this great struggle for human liberty, side by side with the Allies, is sure proof that the mistakes and misunderstandings which formerly estranged our two countries are being transformed into a genuine friendship in the fiery furnace of common sacrifice.

HISTORIC MEETING

The chief function of the day in London was the Anglo-Saxon fellowship meeting in Central Hall, Westminster, under the shadow of the historic Abbey and close to Parliament House. Americans and British together filled the great hall to the doors to proclaim their unity of sentiment and resolution. The Stars and Stripes were everywhere, and copies of President Wilson's speech at the opening of Congress last year were distributed as "a new declaration of freedom, a charter for humanity and world peace." The band of the Coldstream Guards played American airs, and cheers broke out as men known on both sides of the Atlantic took their places on the platform. Viscount Bryce presided and Winston Spencer Churchill was the chief orator. The American speakers were George Haven Putnam, Professor Canby of Yale, General Biddle, and Admiral Sims. Viscount Bryce said in his speech:

For many a year, today was celebrated in the United States with hostility and defiance. By us in Britain it was remembered with sorrow as marking the severance of precious ties. And now, after 142 years, it is being celebrated by both peoples with like enthusiasm—by the children of those who revolted against the British Crown, as by the children of those who sadly admitted the loss of one of that

Crown's choicest jewels. What has been a day of anger on one side and grief on the other has become for both a day of affection and rejoicing.

Englishmen, he remarked, scarcely yet realized the new departure that America took when she entered the war. He continued:

The New World has come to redress the balance of the Old. Its fresh and fiery spirit has the promise of victory. This spirit, this zeal to serve the cause of right, this sense of common duty and common purpose, these perils which the American and British soldiers—citizen armies drawn from the people—are facing side by side—all this has brought Great Britain and America closer than ever they were under one Government before that far-off day of independence which we are celebrating here.

Now, these things will be the surest pledge of affection and co-operation in the future stretching before us as far as human thought can reach. Britain and America, to quote and adapt the famous words of Pitt, have altogether led the world of freedom by their example. Together they will save it, will save it for freedom by their exertions.

CHURCHILL'S TRIBUTE

Winston Spencer Churchill, Minister of Munitions, said:

Great harmony exists between the spirit and language of the Declaration of Independence and all we are fighting for now. The Declaration is not only an American document. By it we lost an empire, but by it we also saved the empire. By applying its principles and learning its lessons we preserved our communion with the powerful Commonwealth our children established beyond the seas. * * *

We desire to express to our American kith and kin our joy and gratitude for the mighty aid they are bringing to the allied cause. When we have seen the splendor of American manhood striding forward along the roads of France and Flanders we have experienced an emotion that words cannot describe. * * *

I am persuaded that the finest and worthiest moment of British history was reached on the night we declared war upon Germany. Like the people of the United States, we entered the war without counting the cost or thought of reward. The cost will be in the end far more terrible than the darkest expectation, but the reward that is coming is beyond our dearest hopes.

What is the reward? Deep in the hearts of the people of these islands is the desire to be truly reconciled to their kindred across the Atlantic, to blot out the re-

proaches and redeem the blunders of a by-gone age and dwell once more in spirit with them. That was the heart's desire which seemed utterly unattainable, but which has been granted.

Be the years of the struggle never so long, never so cruel, that will make amends for all. That is Great Britain's reward. The presence at this moment in Europe of a million American soldiers, awaiting side by side with their French and British comrades the utmost fury of the common enemy, is an event that seems to transcend the limits of purely mundane things and fills us with the deepest awe.

ROYALTY SEES BASEBALL

In the afternoon there was a baseball game at the Stamford Bridge grounds between the army and navy, the first at which royalty was officially present. King George, Queen Alexandra, and Princess Mary were ushered quietly into the royal box by Admiral Sims and were in their seats before the navy enthusiasts near by had realized it. Then their irregular shouts broke into a measured chant of "What's the matter with King George? He's all right!" The King heard it, knew that it was a true democratic welcome, and flushed with pleasure. Later he appeared on the diamond and was the centre of a cheering crowd.

The Dean of Westminster and the Archbishop of Canterbury conducted special service in honor of American Independence Day, and the evening was crowded with entertainments. As in London, so in all the chief cities of England the day was observed with special exercises. Both Oxford and Cambridge paid friendly tribute with the aid of American military forces. Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield made much of the day, and there were special observances at Stratford-on-Avon, Plymouth, Bristol, and other places of historic interest to Americans.

The newspapers of the United Kingdom were filled with matter relating to these unprecedented celebrations, with cordial interchanges of sentiment by officials and prominent men of both nations, and with the record of our effort in the war. America's disinterested entry into the struggle, the thoroughness of her preparations, the speedy and successful trans-

portation of 1,000,000 soldiers, and the valuable co-operation of the navy were prominent editorial topics of the day. The historic change in American and British relations was commented upon with special emphasis as a foundation for a lasting and true friendship between the two peoples.

HONORED BY FRANCE

American Independence Day was celebrated throughout France, from the little villages of Lorraine and the Vosges, where French children joined American soldiers in honoring the Stars and Stripes, to the streets of Paris, where millions turned out to celebrate as almost never before in the city's history. [Ten days later the United States reciprocated with an unprecedented celebration of Bastille Day.]

President Poincaré sent the following message to President Wilson:

The Government of the Republic, at one with all the national representatives and the whole country, ordained that tomorrow, the Independence Day of the United States, shall also be a French holiday. Paris will give your glorious name to one of its handsomest avenues and acclaim to the skies the parade of the valiant American soldier. In every department, in every town, large and small, these manifestations of fraternity will be echoed.

Two peoples in communion of thought will, one and all, remember the fights of old that won liberty for America and hope for the forthcoming victories which will secure for the world a just and fruitful peace based on the law of nations and fortified by the approval of human conscience.

Permit me, Mr. President, cordially to extend to you on the eve of that great day of union and confidence the wishes and felicitations of France for the United States and yourself.

President Wilson replied:

With a full heart I welcome your message of congratulation upon the American day of independence. It is fitting that this glorious anniversary should witness the fraternity of free peoples in the cause of national self-determination. The happy fruitage of the ancient association of our lands in the common cause of liberty is today fitly seen in the union of our countries in the splendid task of upholding their rights in the face of barbaric aggression.

My countrymen are alike gratified and filled with pride at the tribute of brother-

ly affection which the French people are offering them so generously at every point of intercourse. I most hopefully reciprocate your prayerful wish that this may all presage the ultimate triumph of the rights of France and America not only, but also the rights of humanity.

CELEBRATION IN PARIS

The notable event in the morning in Paris was the ceremony opening the newly dedicated Avenue du President Wilson, (formerly the Avenue du Trocadero.) This took place in the presence of President Poincaré and an immense throng. Speeches were delivered by the President of the Municipal Council, the President of the Senate, Antonin Dubost; the President of the Chamber of Deputies, Paul Deschanel, as well as Stephen Pichon, the Foreign Minister, and William G. Sharp, the American Ambassador. The speakers dwelt upon the significance of the intervention of America in the war and of the unity established among the Allies.

Enthusiasm reached a climax when several thousand American and French soldiers marched through the newly dedicated avenue and on down through famous streets to the Strasbourg Monument in the Place de la Concorde. Crowds of people that jammed every available inch of space and every window in the buildings along the line of march, on roofs, and even in trees, cheered themselves hoarse as company after company of khaki-clad Americans swung past to the stirring tunes played by a double band. The enthusiasm became uncontrollable when the regiments came into view, for the exploits of the Americans in their recent offensive on the Marne front had endeared them to the French.

LORD DERBY'S BON MOT

There was an impressive scene at the luncheon of the American Chamber of Commerce when the Earl of Derby, the British Ambassador, and William G. Sharp, the American Ambassador, clasped hands in celebration of America's Independence Day. It was the first time since the United States became a nation that the British Ambassador had attended a commemoration of the

event. "Even if we had not been allies," said Lord Derby in commenting on his appearance at the function, "I should have come."

Ambassador Sharp thanked France briefly for the great manifestation in honor of Independence Day, and continued:

Lord Derby, representing England, has broken an unwritten rule which has lasted from time immemorial with respect to an English Ambassador attending the celebration of our independence. I congratulate him. I congratulate the great country which he represents. It is in keeping with the British spirit of fairness. We know now why England is so great. I welcome Lord Derby here in the name of America.

The audience arose, cheering Lord Derby and shouting for a speech. The Ambassador demurred at first, but the cheers would not down. Finally he said:

I had always thought that America meant fair play, but it is hardly fair to call on me on such short notice to reply to such an eloquent tribute as has been paid me by Ambassador Sharp. As in the days of my youth a teacher spanked me, saying, "You will thank me later for this," I say now that I wish to thank America for the best licking we ever got. It has done us both a lot of good. We are grateful to you because that licking taught us how to treat our children; it is the reason why we now have Australia and Canada, and even South Africa, fighting beside us today.

ELSEWHERE IN FRANCE

Great enthusiasm marked the celebration in Nice. All the shops were closed, as is usual on the occasion of a national fête, and the Stars and Stripes, entwined with French flags, fluttered in the Mediterranean breeze. The city assumed the holiday spirit of the days long since forgotten—the happy days of peace. A popular concert was given in the public gardens, the audience numbering many thousands. A solemn high mass was held in the American church. This was followed by the blessing of an American flag presented to the American Army by the citizens of Nice.

The City of Marseilles changed the name of its largest dock to "Bassin Président Wilson" as part of its celebration of the day.

In French villages where there were

Americans the French soldiers and civilians joined them in celebrating the Fourth and making it the holiday of both nations. Civil and military buildings, business places, and private residences were decorated with American and French flags and the colors of the other Allies. Children in the streets waved small flags in honor of the Americans, many of the boys and girls throwing wild flowers at passing American automobiles and motor trucks. Hundreds of French automobiles moving back and forth at the fronts were adorned with American and French flags.

Many villages were enlivened by athletic games, participated in by American soldiers, while impressive ceremonies were held at some of the army posts. Women and children living in the vicinity of American cemeteries covered the graves of America's dead with fresh flowers.

One of the impressive sights along the country roads was that of groups of children parading and hurrahing with American, French, British, and Italian flags. French and American hospitals were decorated and occasional ambulances, bearing a few wounded, were cheered along the roadways, girls throwing kisses and wild flowers.

BELGIUM'S MESSAGES

As a part of the Belgian celebration of American Independence Day, the Stars and Stripes were raised over the free corner of Belgium in the presence of high Government officials and units of the Belgian Army. King Albert sent this message to President Wilson:

On the occasion of the memorable anniversary occurring on the Fourth of July, I wish to thank once more the great American Nation for its untiring efforts toward ameliorating the unfortunate condition of my fellow-countrymen and to express to it my admiration for the bravery displayed by its great army on the battlefields of France. Be pleased, Mr. President, to accept the ardent wishes I make for the greatness and prosperity of the United States of America.

The determination of President Wilson not to "finish the war before seeing Belgium restored to the plenitude of her

rights and her liberties" was the Independence Day message delivered to the Belgian people at Havre by Brand Whitlock, the American Minister. The societies of Havre addressed the Minister with these eloquent words:

Toward President Wilson, toward the citizens of the United States, goes up the greatest hymn that human gratitude can breathe. Every day we see your fine American soldiers marching toward the battlefield, where our fates will be decided. At sight of them so grave and calm, defying death for the salvation and fraternity of the world, we are profoundly moved. Tell them that the tombs of your dead will be altars before which our children will kneel to learn the most sublime lesson which a great people has given to the world in rising as one man for the defense of justice.

The Belgian Minister of War sent the following telegram to General Pershing:

On this memorable day I send you the cordial greetings and respectful sympathy of the Belgian Army, which associates itself with your national fête with élan and fervor. On this occasion detachments of all arms defiled before the American colors floating over the Flanders plain. All hearts are united in the same wish—success to the allied armies—and look forward to the glorious day when your troops, in their turn, will defile before our tri-colored flag hoisted in our reconquered cities.

IN ITALY—ALSO AFRICA

Across the Mediterranean in Northern Africa the Fourth of July was celebrated throughout Algeria and the French colonial possessions. In Algiers on the evening of the 3d there was a torchlight procession of all the troops in the garrison, with regimental bands playing American airs. A reproduction of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty was set up in one of the large squares. On the Fourth the Governor General reviewed the troops and, with other notables, paid a formal visit to the American Consul General. The day was observed as a complete holiday, and the American Consul reported that the celebration was an unprecedented homage to a foreign nation. Similar exercises took place at Tangier.

The celebration of the Fourth of July throughout Italy surpassed all expectations and was described by those who

saw it as the greatest manifestation of friendship and affection ever offered to any foreign country. In Rome many speeches were delivered from the Victor Emmanuel Monument by prominent men before the highest State officials and a vast crowd. The smaller cities and even the villages vied with each other in showing esteem for America. At Ancona a reception was given in the Town Hall and the city inaugurated a new avenue named after President Wilson. Gabriele d'Annunzio wrote an ode "To America in Arms" for the Fourth of July, containing the expression, "No more shall we divide with the brute the earth's bread." From all parts of Italy civic authorities, associations, and individuals sent messages to the American Ambassador, Thomas Nelson Page, expressing fraternal greetings and kindly sentiments for Italy's ally across the sea.

At noon Ambassador Page in Rome received a deputation of citizens from the Italian provinces still subject to Austria, who set forth the claims of their provinces to be reunited with the Italian mother country and expressed the hope that President Wilson would espouse their cause. The Ambassador replied that he would convey their wishes to the President.

Numerous processions marched through the city bearing mediaeval and heraldic devices, recalling the glories of each war. Prince Colonna, Mayor of Rome, delivered an address, greeting America in the name of Rome. Senator Ruffini, for the Italo-American Union, said: "President Wilson will remain in history as the most glorious champion of the fraternity of man."

King Victor Emmanuel sent the following message to President Wilson (and received a cordial reply):

Even in proclaiming their independence the American people affirmed that their mission in the world was one of liberty and justice. They have nobly kept faith with that supreme ideal, always and more than ever in this ruthless conflict of all the nations, by spontaneously intervening in the defense of right and against violence. Wherefore this anniversary is today celebrated by all the free peoples, as if it were their own glad holiday, as a rite portending the victory of liberty and justice.

Italy, unshakable in her resolution to bear and do everything in the great common cause, sends to the people of the United States her expressions of brotherly sympathy at the very moment when she enthusiastically and proudly welcomes the sons of America who have come to fight by the side of her own sons. To you, Mr. President, who with enlightened wisdom and unswerving decision worthily preside over the destinies of your great nation, I am glad to manifest those sentiments, those purposes, and that confidence of the Italian people.

Florence conferred the freedom of the city on President Wilson. The exercises were witnessed by an enormous part of the population of Florence, as well as many people from neighboring cities. The Mayor read from a parchment granting citizenship to the American President, and Peter Jay, Counselor of the American Embassy at Rome, representing Ambassador Page, expressed the thanks of the United States.

Ambassador Page addressed the following message to the Italian people:

It is absolutely impossible completely to express to Italy and its people how deeply we Americans appreciate Italy's commemoration of Independence Day, the enthusiasm of which could not be surpassed in the United States.

As the representative of President Wilson and the American people, I must, however, express their satisfaction and mine at such a fine manifestation. Every American will be touched by its sincerity and will interpret it as evidence of a solidarity which guarantees the triumph of our sacred common cause.

May the ideal nobly expressed by President Wilson soon find its realization, to which the sacrifices, courage, and devotion of Italy will have contributed.

MESSAGES FROM GREECE

Both King Alexander of Greece and Premier Venizelos honored our Independence Day by sending cordial messages to the President. The King's was as follows:

On this memorable day, on which the great Republic celebrates the anniversary of its independence, I join the Hellenic peoples in expressing to you, Mr. President, and to the American Nation, my cordial felicitations and the ardent wishes I make for the happiness and prosperity of the American people. The Republic's participation in the world war constitutes all the more valuable a factor in the allied struggle, as it has for its sole aim the defense of the imprescriptible rights

of the oppressed peoples and the restitution of their spoliated property.

This was Premier Venizelos's message:

Mr. President, on this day, in which the great American Nation celebrates the proclamation of its independence, I wish to pay homage to the United States of America, which, finding in the principle in whose name it had achieved its Revolution a command to crush the arrogance of a power that spurned all law and humane sentiments, that aimed to force despotism upon the world, has in a magnificent effort thrown into the world conflict all its physical and moral forces. So the United States nobly took the position of a belligerent and, with admirable unanimity and dash, succeeded in organizing the valiant troops that are now fighting in defense of the French land. Greece is tensely watching their success, for a peace will spring from the defeat of Germany that will rest on the respect of all rights. I also salute with respectful admiration him who successfully led his country in the path of duty and of sacrifice for the liberties of mankind.

President Wilson's response was:

Your message of congratulation on America's natal day of freedom comes to blend the glorious traditions of our own struggle to conserve for our own land and people the priceless heritage of freedom with the splendid history of the great Greek people, whose indomitable aspirations for national self-government have reawakened and inspired their sons from of old to renewed endeavor in the great work of worldwide regeneration and enfranchisement. It is fitting that Greeks and Americans should stand side by side and strive for the triumph of their common cause, to the end that the spirit of freedom shall not perish among them. In the name of the Government and people of America I extend the hand of fellowship to your land and its people.

IN SOUTH AMERICA

The Fourth of July was celebrated throughout South America to an unprecedented extent. The day had been declared a national holiday by Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay, and it was observed as fully as their own independence days. The streets of Rio de Janeiro were decorated and there was a parade of Brazilian naval, military, and volunteer forces during the afternoon and a torchlight procession in the evening. All the newspapers published sympathetic articles appreciative of President Wilson and America's fight for democracy.

The Argentine Government gave spe-

cial permission for the display of the American flag, and a dispatch from Buenos Aires stated that the business district of the city was displaying more of these flags than were usually to be seen in peace times in American cities on the Fourth of July. All the provinces of Chile observed the American anniversary with enthusiasm. Chilean newspapers without exception paid cordial tributes to the position taken by the United States in the war and to the progress made since entering the conflict. Venezuela and other South American States sent greetings.

Mexico celebrated the day with elaborate exercises in Mexico City, attended by Government officials and a large number of Mexican Army officers in uniform. All stores except those of Germans were closed. A telegram from Saltillo, Mexico, announced that the same was true of that city. President Carranza sent this message to President Wilson:

It is very gratifying to me to send your Excellency and the American people on this glorious anniversary that you are today celebrating the most cordial congratulations from the Mexican people and Government. At the same time I am pleased to express to your Excellency my most sincere, strong wishes for the prosperity of the United States, wishing that peace and justice will reign soon forever in both continents.

President Menocal of Cuba sent this greeting to the President of the United States:

I send to your Excellency my most cordial congratulations on the occasion of the Fourth of July, always a glorious day for all the free peoples, but now more revered than ever for its significance in the supreme conflict which is to decide the future of liberty and democracy in the world. I take pleasure in informing your Excellency that it has afforded me patriotic satisfaction to approve the law enacted by the Congress which makes the Fourth of July a holiday in Cuba.

CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

Canada gave various marks of recognition to our Independence Day, and Toronto for the first time in its history raised the Stars and Stripes over its City Hall.

Among the cablegrams that poured into the State Department at Washing-

ton from all parts of the world—except those under German control—was the following from the Commonwealth of Australia, communicated through Mr. Balfour and Lord Reading:

Australia warmly greets America on its natal day. It notes with pride and gratitude that although only fourteen months have elapsed since the memorable declaration of war by the peace-loving, non-military United States against the enemies of civilization and small nations the brave armies and illimitable resources of the great English-speaking democracy are already a powerful factor in the world fateful struggle against militarism; springing from common family stock, Australia looks to the day when America will clasp hands across the ocean with Australia as a brother, thus making real the family tie and securing the destiny of the liberty-loving peoples of the Pacific.

Similar telegrams came from the Mayor and Council of Brisbane, Australia, and from the Governor of West Australia.

PARADE OF NATIONALITIES

A wonderful epitome of this worldwide appreciation of American ideals was afforded by the pageant parade of Independence Day in New York City, arranged by the Mayor's Committee of National Defense as a demonstration of the loyalty of Americans of foreign birth. More than forty nationalities were represented in the unique parade and pageant of floats that swept up Fifth Avenue unceasingly for ten hours. Estimates of the number of marchers agreed on a minimum of about 75,000. The first division presented a complete picture of the war activities of the nation; the second, the division of nationalities, was a picture of the nation itself, infinite in

its variety, yet one in its unity of devotion to democratic ideals. The crackle of the wireless and the roar of twenty-two airplanes in squadron formation in the sky above added the last touch of modernity.

Regarded purely as a pageant, the parade was remarkable in bringing out a greater variety of display of national spirit and national costume than the city had ever seen before. Many of these displays were a surprise. The brilliant pagentry of the Slav races had been to some extent anticipated, but what had not been expected, by the public, at least, were the remarkable exhibitions put forward by Armenia, Syria, Switzerland, Spain, Venezuela, and other nations whose floats and marchers were on a plane of artistic effect seldom found in a street parade.

There were men and women of the white, the black, the brown, and the yellow races. In the serried ranks that tramped to the rhythm of American music from early morn until the dusk of evening were mustered Jew and Gentile, Mohammedan, Confucian and Buddhist; Christians of the Roman and the Greek orthodoxies, followers of the religious dogmas of Calvin, Wesley, Martin Luther, Swedenborg, Roger Williams, Billy Sunday, and those of no religion at all.

There were men of wealth and men of poverty, men famous and men obscure. But, one and all, they paid homage to the land, whether of their birth or their adoption, which was the first to declare that "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The World's Independence Day

By SIR HALL CAINE

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SEVEN score years ago the American people brought forth on their great continent a nation consecrated to liberty and dedicated to the principle that all men were created equal. Then they had many enemies, and only one

friend. Now they have many friends, and only one enemy. Then they were a little handful among the peoples of the earth. Now they are a hundred millions, and their mighty country is the half brother of the world, and today

their kindred, as represented by the sovereigns and statesmen, the soldiers and sailors, the speakers and teachers and writers of many lands, are stretching hands to them from across the sea.

Why are they doing so? Because the principle on which the American Nation was founded has been found to be true, and has prevailed because the nation so founded has passed through times of fierce testing and has endured, first, her time of separation from the motherland from which she sprang, when ties had been broken which might never be renewed, then her time of civil war with its million of dead, (all her own dead,) when friend was against friend, brother against brother, and father against son, and now her time of tragic choice between peaceful security on her own continent and the perilous call of justice and humanity on ours.

America came into the war two years after it began. The first intoxication of the war fever had not touched her. The delirious exaltation earlier had left her cold. She had watched the struggle in the Old World and seen the bitter fruits of it. She knew how the nations of Europe had suffered and how the iron had entered into our souls. She had no illusion about the bloody business upon which she was embarking, no mistaken estimate of the price she would have to pay, and yet she came in calmly, deliberately, without qualm or fear.

Why did she come in? She had no old score to settle, no bad peace to readjust, no territorial or economic advantage to gain. Autocracies may go to war for a little earth, but democracies have only the lives, honor, and welfare of their subjects to fight for, and American subjects on their far-off shores were secure. But liberty had been violated, civilization had been outraged, the right had been wronged, the weak had been oppressed, the helpless had been injured, and before the iron arm of a merciless tyranny justice and mercy and charity and humanity were being wiped out of the world.

If America was to be true to the principle to which she had consecrated her State, she had to resist these crimes.

Not to resist them was to become accessory before the fact to them. Therefore, America had to fight or the spirit on which she had founded her own nation had to die.

Only for a little while did she hesitate about her duty to step beyond the limits of her own continent. Moral law knows nothing about frontiers. The boundaries of the human heart are wider than the widest empire.

At the foot of Calvary there is only one country. The cause of liberty, of justice, and of mercy is the cause of humanity. A wrong done to the least of nations is a wrong done to all. So America could not shrink in the face of her right and of her duty.

"A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity." On the common ground of adversity America is now standing by the side of all that is highest and best among the free nations of Europe. In that fact and in its sequel lies the supreme spiritual compensation of this awful war.

Again and again in the agony of our sorrow and loss and deep unfathomable mystery of it we have cried out of our bruised and wounded hearts, "What is God doing in this world of His children?"

But now we see. In His inscrutable way He is healing all the old wounds of the nations. He is drawing together the races of men who have been too long asunder. Out of the storm of battle He is bringing forth a great brotherhood of His scattered peoples, such as the world has never seen before.

Just as war, notwithstanding all its brutalities, is creating a new comradeship among the men who are fighting at the front, so that, coming out of every class and condition, all distinctions have disappeared with the civilian clothes they have taken off and the soldiers' uniforms they have put on, and nothing remains to the well-to-do man and the workman, the highly born and the lowly born, the educated and the illiterate, perhaps the ex-convict and the ex-clergyman, except the brotherhood in which they daily face sudden and untimely death, standing shoulder to shoulder in the same trenches,

sleeping side by side in the same dug-outs, and thus sharing together the biggest things they can do and give their duty and their lives—even so, the organized barbarity we call war is binding together the civilized nations into a great new spiritual fellowship.

"The friendships that are born in misfortune last longer than those that are born in happiness." Let us pray that the fellowship of free peoples which the war has brought to pass may not end until it has laid the foundations of a lasting peace. With no lower hope than that could we keep our souls alive in the midst of all this suffering.

If we had to believe that what we ourselves are going through would have to be gone through again by our children and our grandchildren who are now living in the fullness of their childish joy, the whole world would be brokenhearted.

But our hope is sure, and our expectation will not fail. The night has been

long and dark and echoing with cries of pain, but on the forehead of the future we think we see the light of dawn, and when that day comes we know what it will be.

It will be yet a greater day than that of sevenscore years ago, when America was founded on her far-off continent, a nation that was consecrated to liberty and dedicated to the equal rights of all. It will be a day of freedom from the shadow of the sword which has darkened the sleep of man for more than a thousand years. It will be a day of liberation from the tyranny of the strong, from the enslavement of the weak, from the subjugation of the silent masses that have shed their blood age after age at the feet of crowned criminals who have sought for nothing but their selfish dominion and gained nothing but their guilty glory.

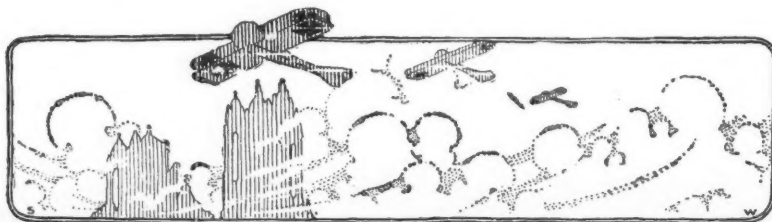
It will be the independence day of the world.

Another Cross for Belgium to Bear

Emile Cammaerts, the Belgian poet and essayist, marked the passing of Easter Sunday, 1918, with this poignant and picturesque bit of description:

The Germans are seizing the bells and organ pipes in the churches of Belgium. It must be admitted that they have reserved this blow for the last. They had already requisitioned leather, copper, including the humblest household utensils, and wool, even to that in mattresses and comforters; so it was the turn of the bells. The Belgians have learned patience. The women have taken up the spinning of wool again as in the good old days, on antique, rickety wheels. The children sleep on mattresses filled with newspapers—newspapers given over to German censorship—and now the sweet chimes and church organs are going to cease sounding the praises of God. After meatless meals, lightless nights, and coalless fires, the Belgians will have silent churches. Candles are unobtainable, communion wine is lacking in some places, and many persons have to go to church in wooden shoes, while there are no new clothes for communicants.

A Happy Easter! The bells will leave on Good Friday, but they will not return this year sowing thousands of multi-colored eggs along the way. They will not go to Rome, as the old tradition has it, and the little folk will wait in vain for their return, which in happier days was the signal for Easter rejoicings. Besides, eggs cost 25 cents apiece; this precious food is reserved for the sick, and there are few eggs and many who are ill.



A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Project Discussed From Various Viewpoints
by Leading Allied Statesmen and Publicists

By VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODEN

Former British Foreign Secretary

The idea of forming a league of nations to enforce peace, first brought into prominence in the United States by the organization headed by ex-President Taft, has become a theme of international discussion since President Wilson gave it his official indorsement. The early Summer months of 1918 brought forth many noteworthy utterances on the subject from English leaders of thought. The following pages contain contributions from Viscount Grey, Premier Lloyd George, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Arnold Bennett, and others.

THERE are projects that exist in shadowy form in an atmosphere of tepid idealism, admired by those who see that, if possible, they would be desirable. From time to time an attempt is made to embody them in material form and make them of practical use in national or international politics. It is then discovered that what appeared as an ideal to be wholly desirable and amiable cannot be of practical use unless we are ready to subject ourselves to some limitations or discipline that may be inconvenient, and unless we are prepared to overcome some difficulties that were not at first sight apparent.

The ideal is found to have in fact a stern and disagreeable as well as an easy and amiable side to it. Thereupon the storm beats against it. Those who never thought it desirable, for there are intelligences to which most ideals seem dangerous and temperaments to which they are offensive, and who had previously treated it only with contempt in the abstract, offer the fiercest opposition to it as a practical proposal. Many of its supporters are paralyzed by difficult aspects which they had not previously considered, and the project recedes again into a region of shadows or abstract resolutions.

This, or something like this, has hitherto been the history of the ideal that has now become associated with the phrase, "League of Nations," but it does not follow that the history of this or of other ideals will be the same after the

war as before it. There is more at stake in this war than the existence of individual States or empires or the fate of the Continent. The whole of modern civilization is at stake, and whether it will perish, be submerged, as has happened to previous civilizations of older types, or whether it will live and progress, depends upon whether the nations engaged in this war, and even those that are onlookers, learn the lessons that the experience of the war may teach them. It must be with nations as with individuals. In the great trials of life they must become better or worse, they cannot stand still. They must learn to profit by experience and rise to greater heights, or else sink lower and drop eventually into an abyss. And this war is the greatest trial of which there is any record in history. If the war does not teach mankind new lessons that will so dominate the thought and feeling of those who survive it and those who succeed the survivors as to make new things possible, then the war will be the greatest catastrophe, as well as the most grievous trial and suffering, of which mankind has any record.

Therefore, it does not follow that a league of nations to secure the peace of the world will remain impossible because it has not been possible hitherto, and I propose in this paper to consider shortly, to state rather than examine, for it would take a long time to examine thoroughly conditions that have not been present be-

fore, and that are present now, or may soon be present, and that are essential if a league of nations is to become effective.

NECESSARY CONDITIONS

These conditions appear to me to be as follows:

First, the idea must be adopted with earnestness and conviction by the executive heads of States. It must become an essential part of their practical policy, one of their chief reasons for being, or continuing to be, responsible for the policy of their States. They must not adopt it only to render lip service to other persons whom it is inconvenient or ungracious to displease. They must lead and not follow; they must compel, if necessary, and not be compelled.

This condition was not present before the war. To what extent is it present now? It is not possible to answer this question fully, but it can be answered certainly and affirmatively as regards President Wilson, the executive head of the United States, and this alone is sufficient to give new life and purpose to the idea of a league of nations. President Wilson and his country have had in this matter the great advantage of having been for more than two years and a half, before April, 1917, able to observe the war as neutrals, free from the intense anxiety and effort that absorb all the thought and energy of the belligerents. They were able not only to observe but to reflect and to draw conclusions.

One of the conclusions has been that if the world, of which they form an important part, is to be saved from what they consider disaster, they must enter the war against Germany. Another has been that if national liberty and peace are to be secure in the future there must be a league of nations to secure them.

It must not be supposed from this that the Governments of the Allies are less ready to draw or have not already drawn the same conclusion from the experience of the war, but their countries have been at war all the time. They have been fighting, it is true, for the same ideal of national human liberty as the United

States, but fighting also for the immediate preservation of national existence in Europe, and all their thought and energy has been concentrated upon resistance to imminent peril. Nevertheless, in this country, at any rate, the project of a league of nations has met with widespread, cordial acceptance.

GERMANY'S OPPOSITION

On the other hand, the military party in Germany is, and must remain, opposed to it. It resents any limitation upon the use of force by Germany as fatal to German interests, for it can conceive no development, and even no security, except one based solely upon force. Any other conception is fatal, and this exclusive conception is essential to the maintenance of the power of the military party in Germany. As long, therefore, as this rule in Germany continues, Germany will oppose the league of nations. Nothing will change this except the conviction among the German people that the use of force causes at least as much suffering to themselves as to others, and that the security based upon law and treaty and the sense of mutual advantage is better than the risks, dangers, and sufferings of the will to supreme power and the efforts to obtain it, and this conviction must so work upon them as to displace the military party and its policy and ideals from power in Germany.

The situation, therefore, of this first condition essential to make the league of nations practical may be summed up as follows:

It is present certainly as regards the executive head of the United States, which is potentially the strongest and actually the least exhausted of all belligerent States. It either is, or will at the end of the war be found to be, present as regards the Governments of the countries fighting on the same side as the United States. Even among their enemies Austria has publicly shown a disposition to accept the proposal, and probably welcomes it genuinely, though secretly, as a safeguard for her future, not only against old enemies but against Prussian domination. All small States,

belligerent or neutral, must naturally desire in their own interest everything that will safeguard the small States as well as the great from aggression and war.

There remains the opposition of Germany, where the recent military success and ascendancy of Prussian militarism have reduced the advocates of anything but force to silence. Germany has to be convinced that force does not pay, that the aims and policy of her military rulers inflict intolerable and also unnecessary suffering upon her, and that when the world is free from the menace of these military rulers, with their sharp swords, shining armor, and mailed fists, Germany will find peaceful development assured and preferable to expansion by war and will realize that the condition of true security for one nation is the sense of security on the part of all nations.

Till Germany feels this to be true there can be no league of nations in the sense intended by President Wilson. A league such as he desires must include Germany, and should include no nation that is not thoroughly convinced of the advantages, of the necessity, of such a league, and is, therefore, not prepared to make the efforts, and, if need be, the sacrifices necessary to maintain it.

OBLIGATIONS INVOLVED

The second condition essential to the foundation of the league of nations is that the Governments and peoples of the States willing to found it understand clearly that it will impose some limitations upon the national action of each, and may entail some inconvenient obligation. Smaller and weaker nations will have rights that must be respected and upheld by the league. Stronger nations must forego the right to make their interests prevail against the weaker by force, and all States must forego the right in any dispute to resort to force before other methods of settlement by conference, conciliation, or if need be arbitration, have been tried. This is the limitation. The obligation is that if any nation will not observe this limitation upon its national actions, if it breaks

the agreement which is the basis of the league, rejects all peaceful methods of settlement and resorts to force against another nation, they must one and all use their combined force against it.

The economic pressure that such a league could use would in itself be very powerful, and the action of some of the smaller States composing the league could not perhaps go beyond the economic pressure, but those States that have the power must be ready to use all the force, economic, military, or naval, they possess. It must be clearly understood and accepted that deflection from or violation of the agreement by one or more States does not absolve all or any of the others from the obligation to enforce the agreement.

Anything less than this is of no value. How worthless it may be can be seen by reading the debate in the House of Lords in 1867 upon the Treaty Guaranteeing the Neutrality of Luxemburg. It was there explained that we entered only into a collective guarantee. By this it was apparently meant that if any one of the guaranteeing powers violated the neutrality of Luxemburg, or even if any one of them declined to take active steps to defend it, Great Britain and the other guarantors were thereby absolved from taking any action whatever. This was contrasted at the time with the Belgian treaty, which entailed a separate guarantee. Hitherto the nations of the world had made reserves in arbitration or conciliation agreements, showing that they were not prepared to accept the limitations upon national action that are essential to secure an effective league of nations. An exception is the conciliation treaty between Great Britain and the United States negotiated before the war. But the statement made above is generally true. The nations also carefully abstained from undertaking any obligation to use force to uphold the benevolent rules of agreements of general application that had been recorded at The Hague Conferences. Such obligation had been confined to local objects like the neutrality of Belgium or to alliances between particular powers, made to protect or serve their special interests.

ARE THE NATIONS READY?

Are the nations of the world prepared now, or will they be ready after the war, to look steadily and clearly at this aspect of the league of nations; at the limitations and obligations that it will impose, and to say whole-heartedly and convincingly, as they have never done before, "We will accept and undertake them"? Individuals in civilized States have long ago accepted analogous limitations and obligations as regards disputes between individuals. These are settled by law, and any individual who, instead of appealing to law, resorts to force to give effect to what he considers his rights, finds himself at once opposed and restrained by the force of the State—that is, in democratic countries, by the combined force of other individuals. And we not only accept this arrangement, but uphold it as essential to prevent the oppression of one by another, to secure each person in quiet life, and to guarantee to each the greatest liberty that is consistent with the equal liberty of his neighbors. That at any rate is part of the theory and object of democratic government, and if it is not perfectly attained, most of the proposals for improving it look rather to increased than to diminished State control.

But in less civilized parts of the world individuals have not reached the point of view from which this order of things seems desirable. There is the story of the native chief in Africa who protested to the British official against having to pay any taxes. The British official explained, no doubt in the best modern manner, that these taxes were used to keep order in the country, with the result that men and women and the flocks and herds in the possession of every tribe were safe, and each could live in its own territory without fear of disturbance, and that the payment of taxes was for the good of all. The effect of this explanation was to make the chief very angry. Before the British came he said he could raid the neighborhood, return with captives and captures of all sorts, and be received in triumph by the women and the rest of the tribe when he returned. The protection of his own

tribe from similar raids he was willing to undertake himself. "Now," he said, "you come here and tell me that I ought to like to pay taxes to be prevented from doing this, and that makes me mad."

The analogy between States and individuals, or groups of individuals, is not perfect, but there is sufficient analogy to make it not quite irrelevant to ask whether after this war the view held by the great States of the relations desirable between themselves will be that of the African chief or that of individuals in what we call civilized nations.

Nothing but experience convinced individuals that law was better than anarchy to settle relations between themselves. And the sanction that maintains law is the application of force with the support of the great majority of individuals behind it. Is it possible that the experience of this war will produce a settled opinion of the same sort to regulate the relations of States with one another and to safeguard the world from that which is in fact anarchy? What does the experience of this war amount to?

Our minds cannot grasp it. Thought is crushed by the accumulated suffering that the war has caused and is still causing. We cannot utter all we feel, and if it were not that our feelings are in a way stunned by the very violence of the catastrophe, as physical nerves are, to some extent, numbed by great blows, the human heart could not bear up and live under the trial of this war. Great must be the effect of all this; greater after, even, than during the war, on the working of men's minds and on human nature itself, but this is not what I intend to urge here.

INHUMANE METHODS

I will urge only one point, and one that is for the head rather than the heart. We are now in the fourth year of the war. The application of scientific knowledge and the inventions of science during the war have made it more terrible and destructive each year. The Germans have abrogated all previously accepted rules of warfare. The use of poisonous gas, the firing from the sea

upon open, undefended towns, and the indiscriminate bombing of big cities from the air were all introduced into the war by Germany.

It was long before the Allies adopted any of these practices even as reprisals, but the Germans have forced a ruthless, unlimited application of scientific discovery to the destruction of human life, combatant and noncombatant. They have shown the world that now and henceforth war means this, and nothing less than this.

If there is to be another war in twenty or thirty years' time, what will it be like? If there is to be concentrated preparation for more war, the researches of science will be devoted henceforth to discovering methods by which the human race can be destroyed. These discoveries cannot be confined to one nation, and their object of wholesale destruction will be much more completely achieved hereafter even than in this war. The Germans are not blind to this, but, as far as I can see, their rulers propose to avoid future wars by establishing domination by Germany forever.

Peace can never be secured by the domination of one country, securing its power and prosperity by submission and disadvantage to others; and the German idea of a world peace secured by the power of German militarism is impracticable as well as unfair and abhorrent to other nations. It is as intolerable and impossible in the world as despotism would be here or in the United States.

In opposition to this idea of Germany, the Allies should set forth, as President Wilson has already set forth, an idea

of peace secured by mutual regard between States for the rights of each, and the determination to stamp out any attempt at war as they would a plague that threatened the destruction of all. When those who accept this idea and this sort of peace can in word and deed speak for Germany we shall be within sight of a good peace.

FATAL TO MILITARISM

The establishment and maintenance of a league of nations such as President Wilson had advocated is more important and essential to secure peace than any of the actual terms of peace that may conclude the war. It will transcend them all. The best of them will be worth little unless the future relations of States are to be on a basis that will prevent a recurrence of militarism in any State.

"Learn by experience or suffer" is the rule of life. We have all of us seen individuals becoming more and more a misery to themselves and others because they cannot understand or will not accept this rule. Is it not applicable to nations as well? And, if so, have not nations come to the great crisis in which for them the rule "learn or perish" will prove inexorable? All must learn the lesson of this war. The United States and the Allies cannot save the world from militarism unless Germany learns her lesson thoroughly and completely, and they will not save the world or even themselves by a complete victory over Germany until they, too, have learned and can apply the lesson that militarism has become the deadly enemy of mankind.



France Unfavorable to Grey's Views

[BY THE PARIS CORRESPONDENT OF THE NEW YORK TIMES]

THE article published by Viscount Grey, formerly Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, on the necessity for the constitution of a league of nations was received badly by the press in France, where the idea of anything in the way of an international organization which will include Germany or anything German is scouted by all classes except a mere handful of the more extreme Socialists.

Not that Frenchmen as a nation have any rooted objections to a society of nations as such. On the contrary, there are no people in the world who are more anxious than the French to live in peace with their neighbors and give an opportunity for the free development of art, science, industry, and social evolution of every nation in close co-operation with all others.

But they are convinced in their bones that it is impossible to regard as anything but absolutely farcical the idea of endeavoring to persuade Germany to enter into a mutual arrangement such as the proposed society of nations involves. Germany has by her own acts declared herself an outcast and a pariah among nations, the French argue, and must in the nature of things remain so.

That a league of nations for mutual protection against Germany and to crush Germany till she is powerless to do further harm for all time is not only feasible but eminently desirable in the interest of all other peoples, every Frenchman agrees, but a league with Germany—never, they say.

"What head of a State," says Premier Clemenceau's paper, *L'Homme Libre*, "would ever consent to put his name at the foot of a treaty with that of the criminal and lying Hohenzollern? Can such a possibility be imagined as the loyal President Wilson accepting from the hand of the Hohenzollern the pen with which to sign a pact of the reconciliation of their peoples? Never."

A Parliamentary committee was created some twelve months ago under

the Presidency of Léon Bourgeois to consider the conditions under which a society of nations might be realized. It is significant that, although the committee finished its work six months ago and transmitted its report to M. Clemenceau, as the head of the Government, on Jan. 17, 1918, the report has not yet been laid before the Chamber. Efforts have been made more than once by Socialist members to obtain the publication of the report, but so far, although M. Clemenceau himself made half a promise on one occasion, the report is still held back.

So far as can be gathered there is practically no support for the proposal here except among professional pacifists. It is not surprising, therefore, that Viscount Grey's utterance is very freely handled by the majority of the newspapers here. The *Journal des Débats*, in an article which it entitles "Reveries of a Country Gentleman," dismisses his arguments as the impossible and childish ideas of a man who, it suggests, is unable to realize the practical things of public life.

The *Temps*, more moderate, is equally condemnatory of the principle enunciated by the British statesman. It says:

So long as Germany remains what she is, she excludes herself by her own act from any society of nations which she cannot herself control after the Prussian manner. To try to convince her by argument of the necessity of giving up the religion of force and relinquishing the spirit of war is illusory. A society of free nations, inveterately allied against the powers of prey, is a reality which may be foreshadowed with confidence as a normal stage in evolution, but to try to create a league in which would be found alike freemen and serfs, victim and executioners, those who have suffered and those who have not exolated their crimes, would be a blunder.

The pacifist Pays alone pleads for the acceptance of Viscount Grey's ideas and regrets that he and Léon Bourgeois are not in the places occupied by Lloyd George and Clemenceau, and that the latter do not echo the words of the American President.

A Real League of Nations

By David Lloyd George

Premier of Great Britain

[From an Address Delivered in the City Temple, London, to the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches.]

I HAVE stated—so have all the political leaders of this country—what our aims are: Vindication of international rights, restoration of conquered and trodden territories, the freeing of oppressed populations wherever they are, whether in Europe, in Africa, or in Asia, from the thralldom of alien despots, and, above all, making sure that war shall henceforth be treated as a crime, punishable by the law of nations.

As society is banded together for the punishment and repression of murder, theft, fraud, and all kinds of wrong and injustice inflicted by one individual upon another, so nations shall be banded together for the protection of each other and the world as a whole against the force, fraud, and greed of the mighty. To falter ere all this be achieved would be to doubt the justice of the Ruler of the world. To carry the war on a single hour after those aims can be attained would be to abandon the world to the spirit of evil.

With reference to the league of nations, the Bolsheviki have taught us one lesson at any rate, that a real league of nations does not come by talking about it. They forgot something which was essential—that once you have begun you have got to fight for it. The result was that while they were writing dispatches and making speeches about the league of nations they were left with barely half a nation to enter into a league with anybody. While they were talking about the rights of self-determination and allowing their armies to fall to pieces the Germans were stripping Russia of province after province, and while they still went on talking the Germans added Reval to Riga, and were on their way to make Odessa a German port. That is not the way to get a league of nations.

I would warn you in all sincerity not to mistake phrases for facts. There is

nothing more deadly even in peace; it is disastrous in war. I could frame—any man could—declarations of the most resounding equity as a basis for peace, every one of which would be accepted with a loud tongue by the Prussian war lords, and yet you would find, exactly as the Bolsheviki did, when these phrases came to be interpreted, that they were resounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

No man had discoursed so eloquently on the league of nations as the Kaiser. He would have satisfied the most exacting critic in the Free Church Council. His reply to the Pope breathed the spirit of brotherhood and Christian kindness. There was never a word about giving up Belgium, but there were whole passages on disarmament. Not a syllable about surrendering Lithuania and Courland, but on the league of nations he was absolutely sound.

He said he would not only accept the league of nations, but Germany was prepared to place herself at the head of it. When I saw that I knew what he really meant. Then you found the spirit of dominancy still there—a dagger wrapped in the Sermon on the Mount.

We have had treaties before; we must now know that we can give them reality. Millions of young men from the British Empire, from France and Italy—and in due time there will be millions from America—are engaged in demonstrating at the risk of their lives to the Prussian war lords that the world has reached that stage of civilization where justice can be enforced against the most powerful nations that trample upon its decrees. These are the true apostles of the league of nations. If they fail all leagues will be shams, and all treaties will continue to be nothing but scraps of paper. If they succeed—and they will—the league of nations will be an established fact.

Then you may beat your swords into plowshares, not until then. * * *

You cannot half wage a war. You must give the whole of your strength or not at all. That great Old Nonconformist who waged many wars and faced many misunderstandings, Oliver Cromwell, said: "Prosecute it vigorously, or don't do it at all." That is sound. If any man here or elsewhere can show me any way by which we can make peace without betraying the great and sacred cause for which we entered the war, and for

which so many millions have sacrificed their lives, to him will I listen gladly, gratefully, and thank God for the light which is given me.

Short of that, mere peace talk is undermining fibre and morale. I confidently ask my fellow Free Churchmen to use their potent influence in this land to sustain the heart of this great people to enable them to carry through to a triumphant end the greatest task that Providence has ever yet intrusted to their hands.

Earl Curzon's Proposal in Parliament

The House of Lords on June 26, 1918, discussed the proposed plans of a league of nations after the war. Viscount Bryce urged the Government to open an inquiry into the subject and to let the world know that it was doing so.

Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Government leader in the House of Lords, agreed with Viscount Bryce that there was no reason why, without waiting for the termination of the war, the Government should not discuss the proposal for a league of nations, which, he said, ought to be called into existence immediately after the war was ended. To a large extent, he said, leagues of nations existed already, as, for instance, the league of the British Empire and the league of over twenty nations allied to resist German militarism. There was also in existence in Paris machinery representing Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States for unity in naval, military, and economic matters.

These leagues, Earl Curzon continued, represented two-fifths of the human race and formed at least a nucleus from which it was possible to proceed. In outlining the duties of such a league as was proposed, Earl Curzon said that in order to be effective it ought to embrace all States, certainly all great States, but it was difficult to contemplate Germany being admitted.

Describing the inherent difficulties involved in the idea, Earl Curzon said that

he desired the House to assent to two propositions:

First, that it was desirable to prevent wars, or, if that was too Utopian, to limit them and diminish their horrors, to which end general concurrence and the ultimate admission of all the important States of the world was necessary.

Second, he said that he believed opinion in England was rather in advance of the opinion among the Allies, except possibly the United States. It was therefore advisable not to proceed too quickly and thus avoid rebuff.

The admission of Germany to a league of nations, Earl Curzon continued, was impossible until she was compelled by force of arms to abandon her world dream.

Therefore, in the first place, he suggested that there be two leagues, one friendly league of allied nations and another league of enemy nations. In the friendly league he suggested that refusal to submit a quarrel to arbitration should, by the very fact itself, place the refusing nation in a state of war with the others, and they should support each other without the need of any international police.

These were the lines the Government considered desirable and was earnestly investigating with the idea before long of exchanging views with the Allies, Earl Curzon said.

The Death Knell of Empire

By H. G. WELLS

H. G. Wells holds that a league of free nations would be the death knell of all empires. Its primary function, he maintains, would be the establishment of a supreme court whose decisions would be final, before which every sovereign power would appear as plaintiff against any other sovereign power or group of powers.

THE plea, I take it, will always be upon the line that the defendant power or group of powers is engaged in proceedings "calculated to lead to a breach of the peace," and calling upon the league for an injunction against such proceedings.

I suppose the proceedings that can be brought into court in this way fall under such headings as these that follow: Restraint of trade by injurious tariffs or such like differentiations, or by interference with through traffic; improper treatment of the subjects or their property (here I put a query) of the plaintiff nation in the defendant State; aggressive military or naval preparation; disorder spreading over the frontier; trespass, (as, for instance, by airships;) propaganda; espionage; permitting the organization of injurious activities, such as raids or piracy. Clearly all such actions would come within the purview of any world supreme court organized to prevent war.

But, in addition, there is a more doubtful and delicate class of case, arising out of the discontent of patches of one race or religion in the dominions of another. How far may the supreme court of the world attend to grievances between subject and sovereign? Such cases are highly probable, and no large, vague propositions about the "self-determination" of peoples can meet all the cases.

In Macedonia, for instance, there is a jumble of Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Rumanian villages always jostling one another and maintaining an intense irritation between the kindred nations at hand. Quite a large number of areas and cities in the world, it has to be remembered, are not homogeneous at all. Will the great nations of the world have the self-abnegation to permit a scattered subject population to appeal against the treatment of its ruling power to the supreme court?

SOVEREIGNTY CURTAILED

This, it seems to me, is a much more serious interference with sovereignty. Could a Greek village in Bulgarian Macedonia plead in the supreme court of the league of nations? Could the Armenians in Constantinople, or the Jews in Rumania, or the Poles in West Prussia, or the negroes in Georgia, or the Indians in the Transvaal make such an appeal?

Personally, I should like to see the power of the supreme court extend as far as this. I do not see how we can possibly prevent a kindred nation pleading for the scattered people of its own race and culture, or any nation presenting a case on behalf of some otherwise unrepresented people—the United States, for example, presenting a case on behalf of the Armenians.

But I doubt if many people have made up their minds yet to see the powers of the supreme court of the league of free nations go as far as this. I doubt if, to begin with, it will be possible to provide for all such particular cases. I would like to see it done, but I doubt if the majority of the sovereign peoples concerned will reconcile their national pride with the idea, at least so far as their own subject populations go.

[Mr. Wells argues that the armies and navies of the world must be at the disposal of the league and its powers must extend to a restraint of armaments and the control of the munition industry of each country—which leads him to the final deduction of the impracticability of the idea. He concludes as follows]:

THE END OF EMPIRE

But power over the military resources of the world is by no means the limit of the necessary powers of an effective league of free nations. There are still more indigestible implications in the idea,

and since they have got to be digested sooner or later, if civilization is not to collapse, there is no reason why we should not begin to bite upon them now.

I was much interested in the alleged proposal of the German Chancellor that we should give up (presumably to Germany) Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, and such like key possessions. That seemed to excite our press and several of our politicians extremely. I read his speech very carefully, and he did not propose anything of the sort. He was defending the idea of sticking in Belgium and Lorraine because of the strategic importance of those regions to Germany, and he was arguing that before we English got into such a feverish state of indignation about that, we should ask ourselves what we were doing in Gibraltar, &c.

We English are so persuaded of the purity and unselfishness with which we discharge our imperial responsibilities, we know so certainly that all our subject nations call us blessed, that it is a little difficult for us to see just how it looks to an outside intelligence that we are, for example, so deeply rooted in Egypt.

The German idea of freedom of the seas, again, is a quite selfish and aggressive idea, as Lord Robert Cecil has explained; they want to set up all over the earth coaling stations and strategic points, after the fashion of ours. Well, they argue, we are only trying to do what you British have done. If, they say, we are not to do so, because it is aggression, and so on and so on, is not the time ripe for you to reconsider your own position?

LEAGUE OR EMPIRES?

At the risk of rousing much patriotic wrath, I must admit that I think we have to reconsider our position. Our argument is that in India, Egypt, Africa, and elsewhere we stand for order and civilization, we are the trustees of freedom, the agents of knowledge and efficiency. On the whole, the record of British rule is a pretty respectable one; I am not

ashamed of our record. Nevertheless, the case is altering.

It is quite justifiable for us, no doubt, if we do really play the part of honest trustees, to remain in Egypt and in India under existing conditions; it is even possible, as things are, for us to glance at the helplessness of Arabia, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, incapable of self-government, politically new-born infants crying out for trustees.

But our case, our only justifiable case, was, and is, that we were, and are, trustees because there was no better trustee possible. And the creation of a council or a league of free nations will be like the creation of a public trustee for the world. The creation of a league of free nations is the creation of an authority that may legitimately call upon existing empires to give an account of their stewardship. It comes to that. For an unchecked fragmentary control it substitutes a general authority.

This league must necessarily alter the whole problem, therefore, of the tutelage of the politically immature nations, the control of the tropics, and the distribution of staple products in the world. It will knock away every excuse which can be made for dominion over "subject peoples."

The plain truth is that the league of free nations, if it is to be a reality, must do no less than supersede empire altogether; it must end not only this new German imperialism which is struggling so savagely and powerfully to possess the earth, but British imperialism and French imperialism which do now so largely and inaggressively possess it. And, moreover, this idea queries the adjective of Belgian, Portuguese, French, and British Central Africa alike, just as emphatically as it queries "German."

Are these incompatibilities understood? Until people have faced the clear antagonism that exists between imperialism and internationalism, they have not begun to suspect the real significance of this project of the league of free nations.

A Peace League Based on Population

By ARNOLD BENNETT

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WAR is well organized. Peace never has been well organized. Of course, it is easier, though far more expensive, to organize war than peace, because only one State is needed to organize war, whereas at least two States are needed to organize peace. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the making of war is so efficiently and smoothly organized that war occurs, against almost everybody's wish, whereas the keeping of peace is so badly organized that, though almost everybody wants peace to be kept, peace isn't kept.

On July 26, 1914, the Austrian Ambassador telegraphed to Vienna that the Russian Minister had been warned about the extreme danger of mobilizing armies as a form of diplomatic pressure. He said purely military consideration of the question by the General Staffs would then find expression, and, if that button were once touched in Germany, the situation would get out of control.

You see how war works, almost by itself. It is quite certain that no touching of any button, either in Germany or in any other country, would ever have started peace machinery so efficient and smooth that a peace situation would get out of control. The nations simply had to keep peace, in spite of themselves.

The machinery for keeping peace has hitherto been what we call diplomacy; it has horribly failed. All statesmen are agreed as to the chief reason for its failure. The reason is that diplomacy is secret. Among modern peoples, who, after all, have learned a certain amount of common sense from the ages, war could never happen if the preliminaries to it were open and above board.

Once upon a time the peoples thought war was grand. They now know war is insane. A few highly placed persons in any country who want war may succeed in starting the efficient machinery of war by mystifying and mesmerizing the people. They arouse alarm and excite-

ment. They talk about a crisis, and about delicate negotiations, and about an acute crisis, and about a deadlock, and about anticipating the worst. Nobody outside the ring knows anything.

WAR THROUGH FEAR

Ignorance is the mother of fear, and fear is the mother of foolishness. Suddenly there is a panic on the Stock Exchange. Newspapers full of naught but preparations for war do the rest. The peoples have gone to war, and they don't know why. Later on, they learn they went to war because they had lost their heads and been fooled accordingly by a few wily personages whose trade was war.

Now, this particular kind of lunacy could not possibly happen if there were a league of nations for keeping the peace. In the first place, the proceedings of even the most inefficient league of nations would be entirely public, and the peoples would know all that was going on all the time. In the second place, a league of nations must take at some stage action of some sort in conference, and the effect of any conference on any international question can be foretold with certitude.

Said Lucien Wolf in excellent suggestions for the prevention of war which he wrote for *The New Statesman* three years ago:

A conference prevents excitement by being so intolerably dull. When a score of diplomatic gentlemen have been sitting round a green baize table discussing some international question for a fortnight they have killed all interest in that question for at least a year. The Algeiras Conference killed the Moroccan question in this way. Before it met Germany and France were boiling with excitement. Long before it finished its work everybody was so bored with it that it was quite impossible to use Morocco as an excuse for war for five years.

International conferences not only have the immense advantage of world-

wide publicity, they possess also the admirable quality of curing perilous fevers by mere tedium.

AN INTERNATIONAL COURT

It is very probable, it is, indeed, almost sure, that international disputes would not be settled by conference. They would ultimately be settled by the decision of a tribunal, or court of justice, with full powers, but this tribunal would itself be nominated by the league in conference, and therefore in the end everything would depend on the constitution of the league; that is to say, upon the principles upon which the various nations were allowed to send representatives to the sittings of the league. And the first essential of a successful league is that it should be constituted in such a manner as would not only lead to the doing of real justice in all disputes, but would also convince each separate nation that that nation was having a fair chance in the activities of the league. Unless real justice is done and unless the nations are satisfied as to the general fairness of the league, the league cannot last very long. It is bound to fall to pieces.

Now let us consider a little what the league at work will actually consist of. It will consist, not of heavenly beings, seraphim, cherubim, saints, and high philosophers removed from the weakness of common beings; it will consist of persons very like you and me, subject to our failings, our weaknesses, and our prejudices. Half of the members of the league, when they assemble in the morning, will be wondering whether or not they can digest their breakfast properly. More than half of them will be open to flattery or to threats, and a great deal more than half of them will have axes to grind.

The existence of the league will not change human nature, and there will be precisely as much human nature within the meetings of the league as there will be outside those meetings. The meetings will be remarkably like other meetings of committees and councils.

It follows, therefore, that important

and influential negotiations will go on informally between sundry groups of the league and quite apart from the formal meetings, and that a large proportion of the members will attend the meetings with their minds already made up on points on which their minds are theoretically supposed to be quite open. In other words, the real, effective proceedings of the league will not, after all, be quite so public as we in our innocence may have imagined. There will be an appreciable amount of what we call lobbying; that is, members and groups of members will foregather in private and A will say to B, "Will you vote for my project?" and B will reply to A, "Yes, I will vote for your project, if you will vote for mine," and so on in increasing degrees of complication.

Well, how will the nations of the world agree to constitute the personnel of the league? The principle adopted at the old Hague Conferences was beautifully simple. Forty-four States were represented, and the principle was one nation, one vote. The smaller nations insisted upon this principle as the price of their adhesion. Their argument was that, as each nation was sovereign and independent, all nations were equal and must be equally represented. It was a charming principle and might conceivably work well on the planet Mars, but it could never work well on earth, because it was so absurdly contrary to all earthly notions of common sense.

Eight great powers of the world—Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, Japan, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary—comprise about three-quarters of the total population of the world, and under the one-nation-one-vote scheme they had less than one-fifth of the voting power. Luxemburg and Denmark, with a combined population less than half the population of London, could swamp the vote of the entire British Empire with its area of 13,000,000 square miles and its population of over 400,000,000 souls. The thing would obviously be ridiculous in any plan for a truly practical and workable league.

The only simple alternative seems to be representation on the basis of popu-

lation. Democracy is the politics of the future, and this would be a democratic alternative. It would, however, mean that, if Luxemburg had one representative, Britain would have some 1,700 representatives, which is almost as ridiculous as the one-nation-one-vote scheme. The personnel of the league must be kept down to a reasonable size, hence either the smallest States could not be represented at all or several of them would have to combine together to send a single representative.

But the smaller nations are not of urgent importance. The league is to be chiefly concerned with the prevention of war. The smaller nations would never make war, only great powers would make war, and it is the representation of the great powers that matters in the constitution of the league. Hence let us glance at a list of the great powers, adding Spain to them, if you like, as Spain did make war not such a long time ago, and see if there is anything curious about it.

There is just this that is curious about it, namely, that two groups dominate it, an Anglo-Saxon group and a Teutonic group. In mentioning a Teutonic group at all I am, of course, assuming that the war is over and the German militarists smashed. Outside these two groups we observe Russia, with a population so gigantic that it could look after itself in the league, and Spain, which would itself be the head of an important group comprising Spanish South America, and Japan, which is Oriental and incalculable. France and Italy are left out in the cold. They would probably never combine together, and, even if they did, their combined forces would not equal that of Germany alone.

CONCESSIONS TO FRANCE

The idea of a league of nations has had some success in France, but only very modified success. Do you wonder

why? France, like Italy, may or may not have consciously realized the reason of her coldness toward the idea of a league, but the reason is this: On a population basis of representation France would be simply nowhere in the league; she would be a trifle amid tremendous groups.

There is no suggestion for anything so silly as the old balance of power in what I am saying, but there emphatically is the suggestion of the inevitable drawing together of nations allied by race or language, or by both. Undoubtedly lobbying would occur within the great groups, and bargaining would go on, as to which no hint would ever appear in the official proceedings of the league. France, like Italy, naturally fears this, and on a population basis of representation could do almost nothing to counter any movements which she might imagine to be against her interests.

France counts for far more than her population in the progress of the world. She is the centre of civilization, the historic nursery of ideas, the admired heroine of the earth, and a league of nations without her whole-souled co-operation is unthinkable; hence her fears must be dissipated, they must have no ground to stand on and no air to breathe.

How can her fears be dissipated? They can only be dissipated by giving her appreciably larger representation in the league than she is strictly entitled to on a basis of population; the same in less degree with Italy.

I am fully aware that my proposal is a very delicate one, and will arouse many objections; nevertheless I regard the proposal as the *sine qua non* of a successful league of nations. Let this proposal be made, and the idea of the league of nations will instantly jump forward. The proposal involves difficulties, but these difficulties must be met. It involves sacrifices, but greater sacrifices than these will have to be made if a league of nations is to be and is to work.

After-the-War Problems

How England is Handling Them

It was announced on June 20 that an American commission would be sent to England, France, and Italy to study the methods under consideration in those countries for solving the economic problems which will arise when the armies are dispersed. The following review of the questions as they are being considered in Great Britain was prepared by an editor of The London Telegraph May 30, 1918:

IT is good to know that while the great struggle for human freedom still rages, and the day when victory, full and complete, shall at last crown all our sacrifices cannot yet be foretold, problems that must inevitably arise with the coming of peace are receiving an ever-increasing amount of attention. In the forefront of these problems stands industrial reconstruction—and especially, perhaps, that side of it which concerns the resettlement in a wage-earning capacity of millions of men taken from industrial life to fight the nation's battles in various parts of the world. There need be no secret about the fact that Government departments, and particularly the Ministry of Labor, have been planning for a long while how best to achieve this difficult task.

A first essential is intimate co-operation between military and civil officials in order to avoid the dispersal of men in such numbers as literally to swamp the employment market. What is aimed at is a process accurately adjusted to supply the requirements of industries as they swing over from war to peace activities. How, then, are the stout British fighting men in France, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, and in India to be fitted into the scheme of the country's life whenever the time comes for them to doff the uniforms they have so honorably adorned? It is, to begin with, purely a civil problem, and is being treated as such by those on whom falls the duty of looking ahead in this matter. The War Office authorities have shaped their scheme for dispersing the men with admirable minuteness.

In the case of a citizen army such as ours it was a wise step to register the occupation followed by every man, and

the resulting information should prove of enormous value hereafter. Our army, as a matter of fact, is now classified in occupational groups, and when the period for dispersal is here the Labor Ministry, acting with knowledge of the ability of particular trades to absorb labor, will be able to indicate the moment at which men in any particular group should return to civil life.

A HUMAN TOUCH

In dispersing by drafts from different units according to industrial needs it is hoped to avert to a great extent the evil of unemployment, which it requires no gift of prophecy to foretell would inevitably result were men sent back haphazard in great batches without thought for their future. It will be a huge business, anyway, and it must be tackled not only scientifically but sympathetically, unless chaos is to follow. Happily, from what one gathers, there is a wholesome desire to deal with the matter in a spirit that will commend itself to everybody. The army will have had the use of the men, and when they have finished their job it does not propose to turn them loose in a careless fashion to fare as best they can, but, co-operating with the Ministry of Labor, to return them as far as possible as they can be absorbed in civil employment.

It has been indicated that the basis of the whole scheme is industrial reconstruction, and this being so, the amount of assistance it will be possible for employers to render is incalculable. There is reason to believe that they will render all the service that lies in their power, since so many have promised to reinstate their late employees.

Every man who has work waiting for

him will be brought home with the least possible delay consistent with the priority of industrial requirements. There will be much to be gained, therefore, by co-operation all round. The army has been characterized as a soulless institution, but, as a matter of fact, in looking ahead at this problem, it appears to have been moved by very human considerations. For example, there is a desire to recognize the claims of the men who have been longest in the field—the old soldiers, who have no situations to which they can return. These men, one is assured, will not be kept to the last, but will be dribbled home early enough to give them a reasonable chance in the labor market, which is precisely what everybody would wish them to have.

Other examples might be given, but the above will be sufficient to show that a "human touch" is present in the program which has taken shape for the mightiest home-coming in the long history of our land.

SENDING SOLDIERS HOME

Whenever the day comes on which it can be said that the end of the war is at hand, people will naturally begin to ask how soon they may expect to have husbands, sons, or brothers in the home circle again.

As has been indicated, the army authorities will be prepared to perform their share of the task in an expeditious manner. A representative of *The Daily Telegraph* had the privilege of being present the other day at a full rehearsal of the system of dispersal carried out at a military station "somewhere in the home counties." It will probably be many months, and they will be anxious months, before the scheme is required, but it is desired that all the necessary plans should be perfected down to the smallest detail, so that there may be no hitch when the word "Go" is given.

For the purposes of dispersal England and Scotland will be divided into twelve areas, containing eighteen stations. The convenience of the men themselves will be closely studied. John Smith may be serving with a Highland regiment in France, but his home may be in London

or somewhere else in England. So when the day arrives for him to make his exit from the army, he will not be sent to the dispersal station nearest to the depot of his regiment, but to the one nearest to the place where he wants to live on becoming once again a civilian. The idea is to deal with men from France and men from the home commands or other theatres of war as nearly as possible at the same rate. The arrangements for troops from the overseas dominions will be made by their own Governments. Many of these fine soldiers were promised when they enlisted that they would be given an opportunity to visit London before they went back. There will probably be some of them who will look to have that promise redeemed after the war.

It seems hardly time yet to describe in great detail the exact lines of the dispersal procedure as carried out at the station visited by the writer. The authorities are testing the scheme to discover any possible flaws. To the non-military mind there seemed to be absolutely none. Everything appeared to run with the smoothness of clockwork. Every man on leaving his unit will be provided with a dispersal certificate containing, among other information, a record of his equipment.

UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY

He will be required to leave his rifle and other Government property in a particular shed, where he will be furnished with a new sandbag in which to pack his private belongings. Thereafter he will proceed to a hut labeled "Policy Office," where he will be handed an unemployment donation policy insuring him a certain weekly sum if unemployed for a specific period after he leaves the army. The rate and period are not yet settled. In another hut, which is the pay office, his protection certificate will be stamped, and he will receive an advance of pay. A railway warrant will be forthcoming to carry him to his home, and, finally, he will depart in uniform, plus greatcoat, on what amounts to twenty-eight days' furlough. At the end of that time he will be out of the army. His uniform he will keep. His greatcoat he

will return, a label having been provided, and will get a fixed sum from the army for doing so.

There is good authority for saying that the various documents necessary to provide for Tommy's exit from the fighting forces have been reduced to a minimum. Yet 45,000,000 forms will be required, consuming 350 tons of paper.

TRADE SAFEGUARDS

A number of departmental committees were appointed by the London Board of Trade in the earlier part of 1916 to consider the position of various British trades after the war, especially in relation to international competition, and to report what measures, if any, are necessary or desirable in order to safeguard that position. The reports of four of these committees, those on the textile, iron and steel, electrical, and engineering trades were published recently, though all were dated a year earlier.

All agree in recommending that the

importation of enemy goods in the respective trades should be prohibited after the war except under license. The textile and engineering trades committees recommend a minimum period of prohibition of one year; the electrical committee three years, subject to importation under license in special circumstances after the first year; and the iron and steel committee "during the period of reconstruction," though in this case three members dissent from the terms of the majority statement. Three committees definitely recommend anti-dumping legislation, two (textile and engineering) on the lines of that enacted in the United States, and one (iron and steel) of that in force in Canada; while the electrical committee suggests the prevention of the sale in the United Kingdom of any imported electrical goods at prices lower than those current in the country of origin and the imposition of import duties sufficiently high to protect the industry effectively.

A Toast to the Flag

By JOHN DALY

"Here's to the red of it;
There's not a thread of it,
No, nor a shred of it,
In all the spread of it,
From foot to head,
But heroes bled for it,
Faced steel and lead for it,
Precious blood shed for it,
Bathing in red.

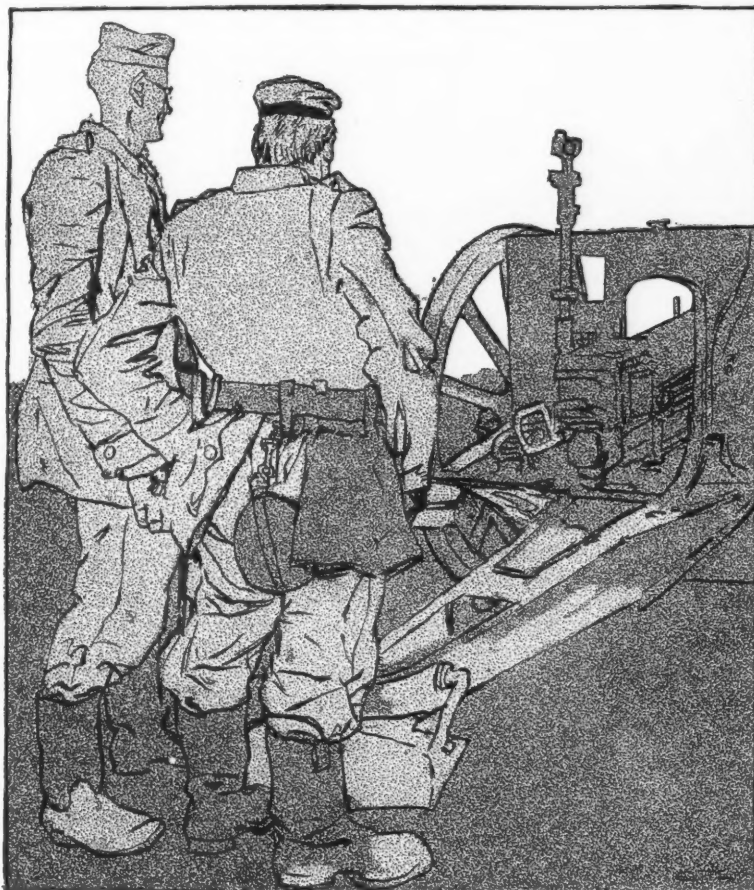
"Here's to the white of it;
Thrilled by the sight of it,
Who knows the right of it
But has felt the might of it
Through day and night;
Womanhood's care for it
Made manhood dare for it,
Purity's prayer for it
Kept it so white.

"Here's to the blue of it,
Heavenly view of it,
Star-Spangled hue of it,
Honesty's due of it,
Constant and true;
Here's to the whole of it,
Stars, stripes, and pole of it,
Here's to the soul of it,
Red, white, and blue."

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

Melting Down the Statues in Germany



—From *Kladderadatsch*. Berlin.

“And this once was Goethe!”

[English Cartoon]

Truthful Karl!

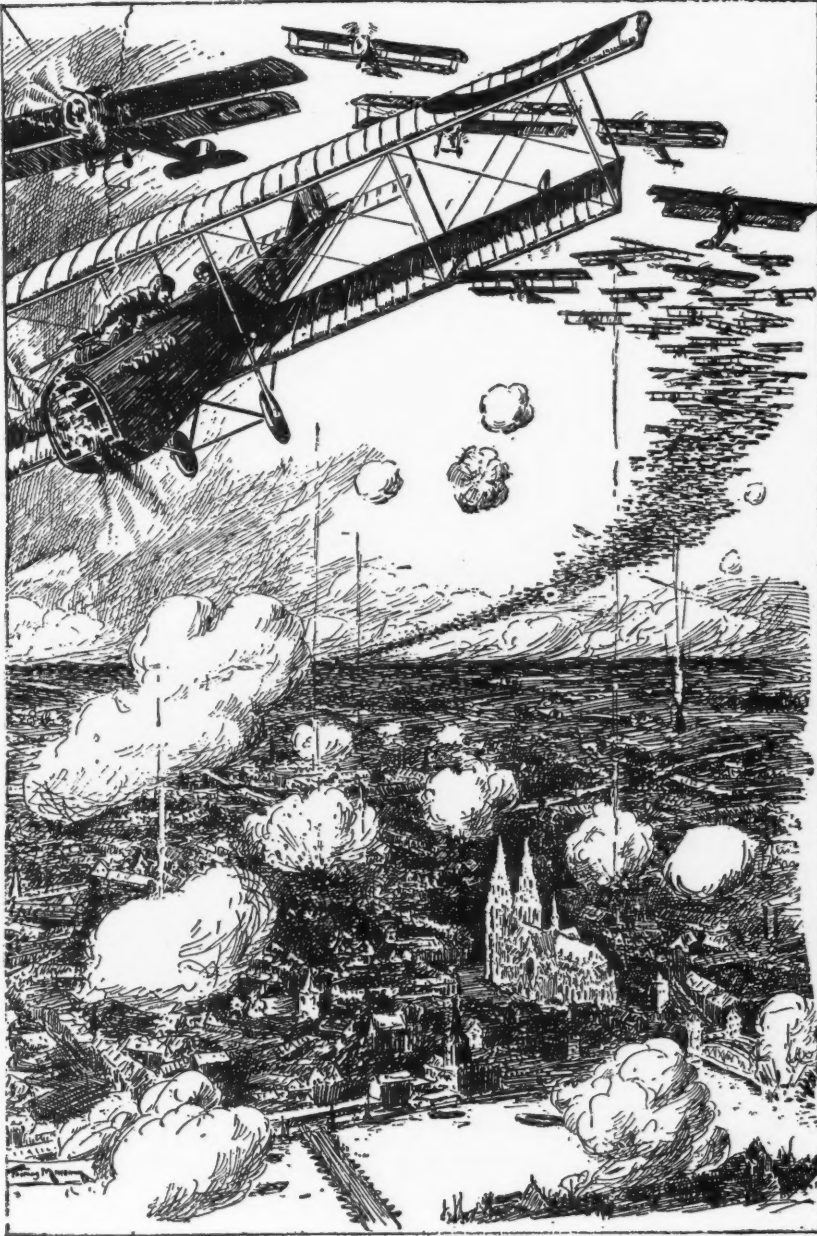


—From *The Passing Show*, London.

THE IMPERIAL LION COMIQUE: "There has been nothing whatever the matter, gentlemen!"

[English Cartoon]

Cologne Is Reaping the Whirlwind!



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Disconsolate Eagle

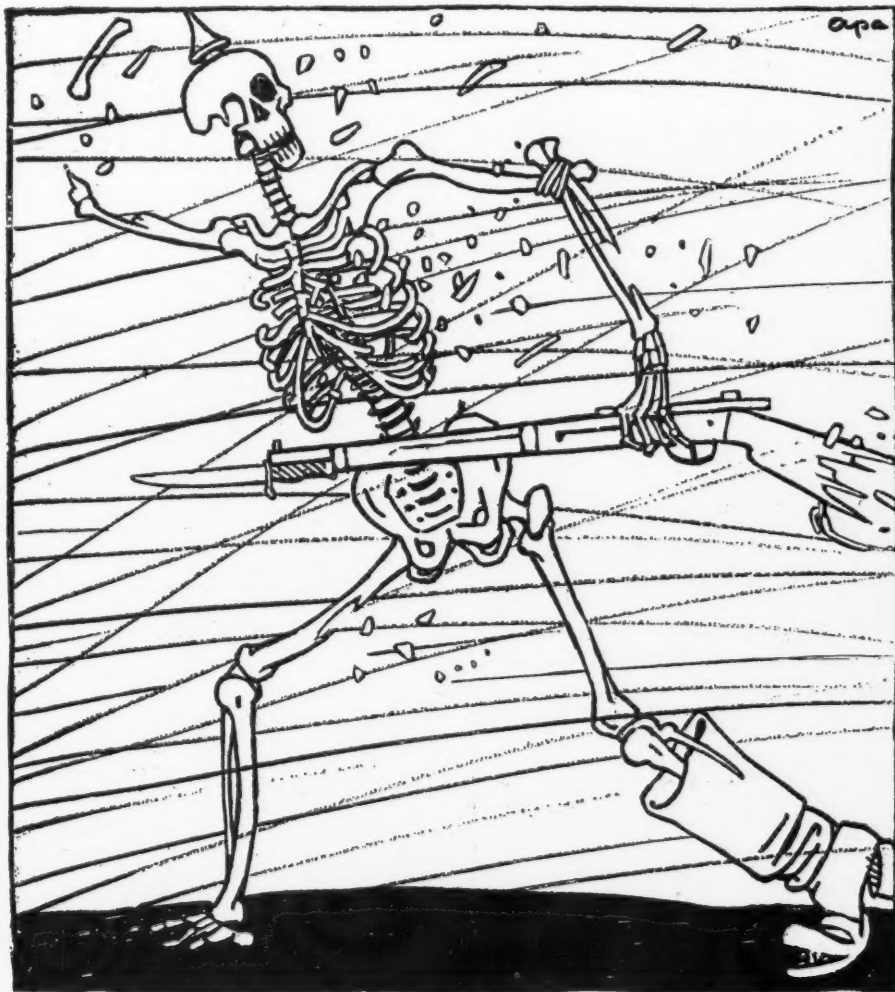


—From *Esquella*, Barcelona.

"Just when I thought I had desolated the fields I see those strong plants blooming fresher than ever."

[Spanish Cartoon]

The End and the Means



—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

Courage! Courage, friends! A little more tenacity and we shall be masters of Hill X.

[Italian Cartoon]
In the Italian Alps



—Il 420, Florence.

SENTINEL OF THE GRAPPA: "Comrade, they shall not pass here."

SENTINEL ON THE PIAVE: "Nor here!"

[Italian Cartoon]
The Torture of Tantalus



—Il 420, Florence.

Paris, so near and yet so far!

[American Cartoon]
The German Mother Hubbard



—Cartoons Magazine, Chicago.

Old Kaiser Cain
Went to Ukraine

To get his starved people some corn:

But when he got there

The Ukraine was bare—

And the Huns wish they'd never been born.

[Italian Cartoon]
The Kaiser's Grief



—Il 420, Florence.

[American Cartoon]
The Gorged Hun



—Brooklyn Eagle.

"How I would like a leedle schmoke!"

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail.

KAISER: "What have I not done to preserve the world from such horrors?"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Crocodile Tears



—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

[German Cartoons]

The Poor French



FRANCE: "England is in danger and Calais must be defended to the last Frenchman and American."

The Entente's Delicate Shrub



"It's certainly not thriving this Spring! Our sole hope is fertilizer from America."

Distress Turns to Prayer



IN HEAVEN: "I hear a lot of prayers in English. What's wrong in England?"

In America



PRESIDENT WILSON: "Now, ladies and gentlemen, there's no trick, no bluff—simply a stroke of the pen, and behold! 30,000 U-boats, 50,000 tanks, 150,000 airplanes."

[Dutch Cartoons]

Rumanian Peace



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

FERDINAND OF RUMANIA: "They call that a peace by understanding. I don't want anything else on the same basis."

In the Dutch Cottage



—From *Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

The shadow on the wall.

[American Cartoon]

The June Bride



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[American Cartoon]

German U-Boats in American Waters



—From The New York Times.
A Front They Did Not Mean to Break.

[English Cartoon]
The Star-Gazer



—From John Bull, London.

“Beholding heaven, and feeling hell.”—(“Lalla Rookh,” Tom Moore.)

[American Cartoons]

More and More Am I Convinced



The World Knows Their Conception



—Dayton Daily News.

[American Cartoon]

"I Did Not Will This War"



—New York Herald.

[Canadian Cartoon]

"Who Said Death?"



—Montreal Star.

[American Cartoon]

Sardonic Humor



—Newark News.

[Italian Cartoon]

As He Would Like It



—From Il 420, Florence.

[American Cartoon]

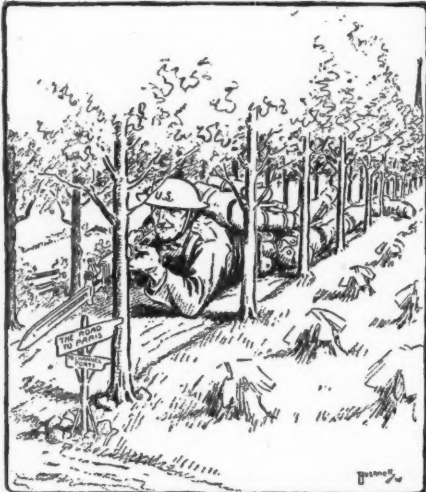
The War of the Crosses



—From *The Providence Journal*.

[American Cartoons]

Potsdam Society Note



—Central Press Association.

"Owing to the impassable condition of the roads, the Crown Prince and party have canceled their proposed joy ride to 'Gay Paree' this Summer."

Breaking Into the Big League



—St. Louis Republic.

This Is Only the Beginning



—Baltimore American.

Getting Their Scalps



—Baltimore American.

He Never Shies at Anything

The Greatest Knave in the World

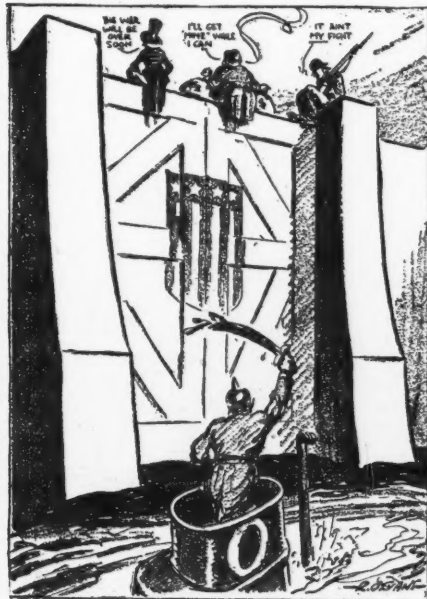


—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.



—Baltimore American.

The Hun Is At the Gate



—Baltimore American.

The Sea Wolves Are Barking At Our Door



—Rochester Times-Union.

[American Cartoons]

Pulling Together



—Dallas News.

Moths and the Flame



—San Francisco Call-Post.

Turn on the Other



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Tell It to the Marines



—Detroit News.

[American Cartoons]

Prosit!—How Much Longer?



—Satterfield Syndicate.

"This Is Victory Speaking:
SEND MORE MEN!"



—St. Louis Republic.

Becoming!



—Milwaukee Sentinel.

Cheating Himself



—San Francisco Chronicle.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Russian Resurrection



—From De Amsterdamer, Amsterdam.

KAISER: "Hang it! I believe the thing is actually alive, after all!"